

THE CHARISMATIC LIFE IN THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH

A Dissertation
Presented to
the Faculty of Divinity
University of Edinburgh

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

by
Howard Hess Charles

February 1958



ABSTRACT OF THESIS

New Coll. Lib

Name of Candidate Howard H. Charles

Degree Ph. D.

Date February 21, 1958

Title of Thesis THE CHARISMATIC LIFE IN THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH

The purpose of this study has been to describe one aspect of the life of the apostolic church (A. D. 30-100), namely, the charismatic phenomena in its proper historical and theological context.

The plan of study may be stated briefly as follows. First, an inquiry was made into the history of the concept of *χαρισμα* with a view to formulating a working definition. Then attention was given to the theology lying behind the charismatic life of the apostolic church, in terms both of those aspects of the Spirit's relation to the church which provide a background for the understanding of the charismatic manifestations and also certain more general theological considerations in connection with the concept of *χαρισμα*. The major portion of the thesis is devoted to a description of the various spiritual gifts, their nature, diffusion, and charismatic character. The study is concluded with a brief discussion of the relation of *χαρισμα* to the pattern of the church's ministry as it emerged in the first century.

Although the term *χαρισμα* was known in Hellenistic circles, its New Testament usage is unique. Among other references, the term designates particular service abilities which were divinely given to various members of the Christian community for the purpose of building up the church.

A rich diversity of gifts answering to a great variety of needs was found in the early church. Essentially, however, the gifts were of two general types: gifts of the Word and gifts of deed. Because the church was not an autonomous society but the community of the crucified and living Lord, it needed to hear His Word. Just as the church had been constituted by the word of the Gospel, so it daily continued to be nourished and sustained by the same means. But the church as a historical community also had material and other practical needs. These were supplied by correspondingly appropriate gifts of practical service. From the very beginning, the various charismatic endowments of the Word and of deed were intimately related to the pattern of the church's ministry as it emerged and subsequently developed in the apostolic era.



Use other side if necessary.

It is impossible to discover any standardized pattern in the gifts which characterized the various Christian communities in the first century. Fluidity, spontaneity, variety, and individuality are features prominently to the fore in the records. This, of course, is to be expected in view of the nature of the phenomena. But beneath the observable diversity, there is a basic unity which binds all into a living whole. All of the gifts flowed from a common source and were designed for a common end. Paul put it tersely: "Now there are varieties of gifts, but the same Spirit To each is given the manifestation of the Spirit for the common good" (I Cor. 12:4, 7).

To
PROFESSOR WILLIAM MANSON, D. D.

And
PROFESSOR JAMES S. STEWART, D. D.

To Whose Instruction and Friendship

I Am Gratefully Indebted

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ABBREVIATIONS

BC	<u>The Beginnings of Christianity</u>
BNTC	<u>Black's New Testament Commentaries</u>
CBS	<u>The Clarendon Bible Series</u>
CD	<u>The Damascus Document</u> (Covenanters of Damascus)
CGT	<u>Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools and Colleges</u>
CGTC	<u>Cambridge Greek Testament Commentary</u>
CNT	<u>Commentaire du Nouveau Testament</u>
CQR	<u>Church Quarterly Review</u>
DSD	<u>The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline</u>
DSS	<u>The Dead Sea Scrolls</u>
EB	<u>Encyclopedia Biblica</u>
EGT	<u>The Expositor's Greek Testament</u>
ET	<u>Expository Times</u>
Eus.	Eusebius
HDAC	Hasting's <u>Dictionary of the Apostolic Church</u>
HDCG	Hasting's <u>Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels</u>
HNT	<u>Handbuch zum Neuen Testament</u>
HTR	<u>Harvard Theological Review</u>
IB	<u>The Interpreter's Bible</u>
ICC	<u>The International Critical Commentary</u>
JBL	<u>Journal of Biblical Literature</u>
JR	<u>Journal of Religion</u>
JTS	<u>Journal of Theological Studies</u>
MK	<u>Kritisch-Exegetischer Kommentar über Das Neue Testament</u>
MNTC	<u>The Moffatt New Testament Commentary</u>
NCB	<u>The New-Century Bible</u>

NINTC	<u>The New International New Testament Commentary</u>
NTD	<u>Das Neue Testament Deutsch</u>
RE	<u>Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche</u>
StKr	<u>Theologische Studien und Kritiken</u>
Str.-B.	<u>Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch</u>
Syll.	<u>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</u>
TWB	<u>A Theological Word Book of the Bible</u>
TWNT	<u>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</u>
WC	<u>The Westminster Commentary</u>
WTJ	<u>Westminster Theological Journal</u>
ZWT	<u>Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie</u>
ZNW	<u>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</u>

INTRODUCTION

Various approaches have been made in recent years to the study of the apostolic church. Representative of this variety are the following well-known works: R. N. Flew in Jesus and His Church (1938) has investigated the church's roots in the intention of Jesus. P. G. S. Hopwood in The Religious Experience of the Primitive Church (1936) explored the pre-Pauline church from the standpoint of religious experience. Another approach has been via worship in A. B. Macdonald's Christian Worship in the Primitive Church (1934). B. H. Streeter in The Primitive Church (1929) studied it with special reference to the origins of the Christian ministry. The lexicographical tool, with due attention to theological content, was utilized by K. L. Schmidt in his article on ἐκκλησία in TWNT, III (1938). George Johnston sought to set out The Doctrine of the Church in the New Testament (1943). The present essay follows still another approach, namely, from the point of view of the charismatic phenomena.

Monographs of varying fulness and quality which seek to describe the nature and manifestation of particular χαρίσματα in the life of the early church are not lacking. To the writer's knowledge, however, no recent serious attempt has been made in English to describe this phenomena ¹ comprehensively in its proper historical and theological context.

The point of departure for understanding the New Testament concept

¹ Attention must be called to the excellent doctoral study by F. Grau entitled "Der neutestamentliche Begriff χαρίσματα, seine Geschichte und seine Theologie" (Tübingen, 1946). This dissertation, however, as the title would suggest is an inquiry into the history and theology of the charismatic concept rather than a detailed historical description of the phenomena as such in the early church. This present study, although of necessity traversing some of the same ground as Grau, serves in its main thrust to complement his work. Access to his unpublished manuscript was had only after much of the research for this study had already been done. Nevertheless, much help was received from it, especially at points in Parts I, II, and IV of this paper.

of $\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\mu\alpha$ in this essay is that suggested as long ago as 1879 by H. Cremer in his important article on "Geistesgaben" in the second edition of Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche.¹ Over against the medieval Catholic and older Protestant scholars who viewed the $\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\mu\alpha$ primarily from the standpoint of their miraculous character, Cremer emphasized the importance of seeing them in relation to the building up of the faith and life of the Christian community. This approach has solid New Testament support.

The plan followed in the development of this study may readily be seen by consulting the table of contents. Parts I and II are intended to provide a proper foundation and orientation for understanding the data presented in Part III. Part IV is a brief attempt to relate the phenomena surveyed in the preceding section to the pattern of the ministry as it emerged in the early church.

The general limits within which the study moves are suggested by the title. Attention is focused on the church in the period roughly between A.D. 30--100 as represented primarily in the literature of the New Testament, although account is also taken of the relevant materials in the Apostolic Fathers and other early Christian literature. Perhaps it should be said that throughout this discussion the terms apostolic church and early church are used synonymously. The term charismatic is used in the restricted sense and no attempt is made to deal with that pneumatic phenomena in the early church which falls outside this category. Although it is hoped that the implications of this historical and descriptive account of the first century church will at least occasionally be self-evident,

¹ Bd. V, pp. 10-14. This discussion in slightly revised form appeared also in the third edition of the same work (Bd. VI, pp. 460-463) published in 1899. Future references to this article are to the third edition.

no special attempt is made to discuss either the validity or the relevance of the charismatic phenomena for the modern church.

In the main, the widely accepted positions in modern New Testament criticism have been assumed. Dissent, however, must be registered in the case of the authorship of Ephesians and I Peter where the arguments against tradition do not appear to be convincing. The problem of the authorship and date of the Pastorals is not yet settled. Although most New Testament scholars are agreed that in their present form they are post-Pauline, there is no unanimity of opinion regarding either their date or the degree to which they supposedly reflect later developments. The problem is much too involved and difficult to discuss here.¹ It must suffice to record the conviction that these epistles sustain a close relationship both to the mind and the era of Paul. Without attempting to settle the question more decisively, these epistles may be regarded as working documents in the Pauline churches between the years A.D. 65--85.

It remains to be said that unless otherwise indicated the quotations from the English Bible have been taken from the Revised Standard Version and those in the Greek from the text prepared by Alexander Souter.

¹ The most recent elaborate defense of the traditional position may be found in C. Spicq's Saint Paul: Les Épitres Pastorales (1947). If difficult problems still remain, this work makes it impossible any longer to deny all relation between Paul and the Pastorals. The weakness of P. N. Harrison's statistical vocabulary approach (The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles, 1921) has often been pointed out (e.g. Dibelius, Die Pastoralbriefe, HNT, p. 3; W. Michaelis, "Pastoralbriefe und Wortstatistik," ZNW, XXVIII, 1929, pp. 69-76). Attention should be called to the recent approach to the question from the standpoint of the psychological problems involved in the theory of a pseudonymous authorship by D. Guthrie in The Pastoral Epistles and the Mind of Paul (1956). Also to be consulted is the little known but important work by F. Torm, Die Psychologie der Pseudonymität im Hinblick auf die Literatur des Urchristentums (1936). Perhaps the secretary hypothesis advocated by J. Jeremias (NTD, IX, pp. 3ff.) with the qualifications suggested by P. Menoud (L'Eglise et les Ministères, p. 49, n. 2) may offer a fruitful solution to the problem.

PART I

THE HISTORY OF THE CONCEPT OF ΧΑΡΙΣΜΑ

INTRODUCTION

A cursory examination of the use of *χάρισμα* in the standard lexicons of classical and New Testament Greek literature will quickly reveal that the term belongs in a special way to the vocabulary of the New Testament. It is not found at all in the classical Greek authors, and its vogue in the literature of the Graeco-Roman world, as we shall see, was never great. The term, therefore, has no long nor intricate pre-Christian history. Before turning, however, to a survey of what evidence there is, brief attention must be given to the etymology of *χάρισμα* and its relation to *χάρις*.

The noun *χάρισμα* is derived from the root *χαρ* from which also come such words as *χαίρω*, *χαρά*^{and}, *χάρις* [*χάρις* and *χάρσις*]¹. It is probable, however, that *χάρισμα* was not derived directly from the root but from *χαρίζεσθαι*.² The suffix *-μα* points to the embodiment of the results of the action inherent in the verbal root.³ Thus *χάρισμα* may be regarded as a concretion of the action denoted by *χαρίζεσθαι*.

χάρισμα stands in very close relation to *χάρις* not only etymologically but also conceptually, for the latter also may designate the tangible results of *χαρίζεσθαι* as it frequently does in non-Biblical

¹ Liddell and Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon (7th ed.), s.v. *χαίρω*.

² Abbott-Smith, Manual Greek Lexicon of the New Testament, s.v. *χάρισμα*.

³ Blass, Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch, bearbeitet von A. Debrunner, 9te Aufl., p. 72; cf. A. T. Robertson, A Grammar of the Greek New Testament (1914), pp. 151, 153.

Greek literature.¹ For this reason brief attention will need to be given to the use of χάρις, especially in its plural form, χάριτες, in our investigation of the usage of χάρισμα. There is no need, however, to give a complete account of the history of χάρις, since excellent studies are already available.² Neither is it necessary at this point to enlarge on the theological relation of the χάρισμα to χάρις. This will be dealt with later when inquiry is made into the theology lying behind the charismatic life of the apostolic church.³

I. THE PRE-CHRISTIAN USAGE OF ΧΑΡΙΣΜΑ

A. Χάρισμα in the LXX

The presence of the term χάρισμα in the New Testament would normally lead one to expect it also in the LXX. But the facts are otherwise. It does not occur at all in the LXX version of the Old Testament.⁴ It is

¹ Soph. Oed. col. 635-7, 776-80; Xen. Mem. 3.5.23; Hier. 8.4; Plato Lach. 187A; Eur. Med. 185-7; Pindar Pyth. 1.75-78; vid. further infra pp. 13f.; cf. T. F. Torrance, The Doctrine of Grace in the Apostolic Fathers, pp. 1-6.

² E.g. G. P. Wetter, Charis. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Ältesten Christentums (1913); W. Manson, "Grace in the New Testament," The Doctrine of Grace, ed. by W. T. Whitley (1932), pp. 33-60; Torrance, op. cit., (1948), pp. 1-35.

³ Infra pp. 95ff.

⁴ It may be observed, however, that χάρισμα is used by Theodotion to translate the Hebrew טוֹן in Psa. 30:22 where the LXX employs ἔλεος. F. Grau, op. cit., p. 15, has made the interesting suggestion that Theodotion preferred χάρισμα to the more usual ἔλεος probably because he interpreted the Psalmist's thought as referring primarily to the practical results of the divine action on his behalf rather than to the act itself (ἔλεος). If Theodotion, however, understood this to be the difference between χάρισμα and ἔλεος, it is difficult to see why he should interpret only this passage of the many in which the LXX uses ἔλεος in this sense.

found, however, in two passages in Sirach (certain mss.) which call for brief notice. The first of these is Sir. 7:33 where \mathcal{N} reads: $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$ $\delta\acute{o}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\nu\alpha\nu\tau\iota$ $\pi\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\zeta\omega\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$. But it is more likely that the readings of B and A which have $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$ in place of $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$ are correct.¹ Certainly $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$ in the sense of that which is acceptable to others harmonizes well with the context. The pious man is being addressed in regard to his neighbor who is in need. He is exhorted to stretch out his hand to the poor man (v. 32). Such a gift ($\delta\acute{o}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$) has favor ($\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$) in the sight of every living man (v. 33). But even if $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$ be read, the author's thought moves clearly in the framework of a material gift which a man of means shares with a man in need. There is no thought of a divine or a spiritual gift to men.

The second passage, Sir. 38:30, may be disposed of even more quickly than the first. The author describes the potter at work at his wheel: "He will fashion the clay with his arm, and will bend its strength in front of his feet; he will apply his heart to finish the glazing ($\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$) and he will be wakeful to make clear the furnace." Although B* reads $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$ instead of $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$, the latter, in addition to having good textual support,² harmonizes well with the content. Probably the occurrence of $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$ here represents a scribal error.

In light of the foregoing evidence, it may be concluded that $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$ probably should not be considered as belonging to the vocabulary of any portion of the LXX. If it be allowed at all in the passages which were

¹ J. Moffatt, Grace in the New Testament, p. 105, regards $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$ as "merely a mistake for $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$." The readings of B and A are adopted by Alfred Rahlfs in his text of the LXX. Cf. Charles, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha I, ad. loco.

² It is supported by B¹, \mathcal{N} , A.

noted above, it clearly carries quite another meaning from that which we find in the New Testament.¹

When attention is turned from $\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$ to the use of $\chi\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$ in the sense of concrete objective gifts, the LXX again has little to contribute to our study. The predominant use of $\chi\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$, especially in the Pentateuch and the historical books with a fair representation also in the sapiential literature, is that of "favor" or "acceptance."² In certain passages it carries the sense of thanks.³ It occurs again with the meaning of charm, beauty, or gracefulness.⁴ In one passage it seems to carry the sense of power or potency.⁵ In still others it bears the notion of kindness or kindnesses.⁶ In only four passages does it seem to approximate rather clearly the meaning of objective concrete gifts. Two of these refer to liberality in almsgiving where $\chi\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$ has the sense of bounty.⁷ In Wisd. 14:26 it refers to benefits. The passage describes the attitude of the ungodly man as one of ingratitude for benefits which he has received presumably from his fellows. Finally, in IV Macc. 11:12 it designates the privileges of demonstrating loyalty to the Law of God. Such

¹ Cf. G. P. Wetter, *op. cit.*, p. 168, n. 1. After noticing the passages we have considered, he says, "Aber nie haben wir die Bedeutung 'Geistesgabe,' sondern immer 'Gnadengeschenk, Gabe.' Überhaupt ist die Vorstellung der offiziellen jüdischen Religion fremd."

² E.g. Gen. 6:8; Ex. 3:21; I Sam. 1:18; I Kings 11:19; Prov. 3:4; Sir. 19:25; Wisd. 3:14; I Macc. 10:60; Psa. 84:11; Dan. 1:9; etc.

³ E.g. Sir. 12:1; 20:16; I Macc. 14:25; II Macc. 3:33.

⁴ E.g. Prov. 1:9; 4:9; 5:19; Sir. 21:16; 24:16f.; 26:13; 40:22.

⁵ Prov. 17:8.

⁶ E.g. Sir. 3:31; 20:13; 29:15; 30:6.

⁷ Sir. 17:22; 40:17.

were the privileges bestowed upon the faithful Maccabean martyr by Antiochus when he inflicted cruel torture upon him.

Thus again the LXX in its use of $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$ affords no significant approach to the New Testament meaning of $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$.¹

B. $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$ in Philo

The word $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$ is found in only one passage in Philo's writings where it occurs twice.² The passage is an exposition of Gen. 6:8: "But Noah found favor ($\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$) in the eyes of the Lord." Now the obvious meaning of this statement is that Noah was well-pleasing to God. But Philo, as usual, sees a deeper meaning in the assertion.

The righteous man exploring the nature of existence makes a surprising find, in this one discovery, that all things are a grace ($\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$) of God and that creation has no gift of grace ($\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$) to bestow, for neither has it any possession, since all things are God's possession For all things in the world and the world itself is a free gift ($\delta\omegaρε\acute{\alpha}$) and act of kindness ($\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\rho\gamma\epsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$) and grace ($\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$) on God's part.

Three observations may be made on Philo's use of $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$ in this passage. (1) The term designates a gift which God bestows. In this respect Philo's use of $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$ bears a connotation which is also to the fore in the New Testament usage. (2) The word is employed as a virtual synonym of $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$, $\delta\omegaρε\acute{\alpha}$ and $\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\rho\gamma\epsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$ which also occur in this passage. It bears no distinctive sense when compared with these closely associated words. (3) Contrary to Paul's use, Philo brings $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$

¹ Indeed, the term $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$ in the LXX has no distinctive religious connotation such as pervades and characterizes Paul's use of it. Vid. Wetter, *op. cit.*, pp. 6ff.; cf. also W. Manson, *op. cit.*, pp. 36f.; Torrance, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

² *Leg. Alleg.* 3.78.

into relation with the natural order of creation.¹ In his hands it does not designate a special spiritual gift as it does for Paul but one belonging to the physical order. Indeed, the cosmos itself was regarded by Philo as a *χάρισμα*.

The reason Philo does not employ *χάρισμα* in any extensive way is not to be sought in any lack of awareness on his part of God's gifts to men. Philo was loyal to his Jewish heritage at this point. This is clearly illustrated in the liberal use he makes of *χάρις* and especially *χάριτες* in the objective sense of gifts. In most instances, these terms designate divine gifts rather than human. His preference for *χάριτες* as against *χαρίσματα* is to be explained by the rarity of the latter in Hellenistic usage. *χάριτες* lay ready at hand and provided a suitable medium for Philo's thought.

In view of the fact that *χάριτες* is used freely by Philo to designate God's gifts to men, some attention must be given to it in investigating the background of the New Testament concept of *χάρισμα*. *Χάρις* is employed to designate a variety of divine gifts. It may be used comprehensively for the general bounty of God to men.² The earth in its spontaneous productivity prior to the sin of man is described as "the overflowing springs of the bounties (*χαρίτων*) of God."³ The various organs and functions of the human body are regarded as gifts of God.⁴ But God's gifts are to be seen not only in the realm of nature

¹ *χάρισμα* Θεοῦ τὰ πάντα ὅσα ἐν κόσμῳ αὐτῷ
αὐτῷ ὁ κόσμος ἐστίν.

² *De Mut. Nom.* 155; *Quis Rer. Div.*, 31; *Quod Deus im. sit.*, 107f.

³ *De Opif. Mund.* 168.

⁴ *De Ebr.* 106f.

but also in the history of God's special dealings with His chosen people. Thus, the covenant of God with Israel "is an allegory of His gifts of grace."¹ The cultus with its highpriest is seen as related to the χάρις τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ Θεοῦ.²

Of special interest for our investigation is the use Philo makes of *χάρεις* as a category to designate certain moral and intellectual powers in the life of man.³ These are gifts from God and man is a steward charged with their proper use and development. In order to fulfill this obligation man must remain humble and refuse to take any credit to himself for whatever personal development he may experience, for it is God who enables him to develop the powers implanted in him. To fail to give God the honour is to bring ruin upon oneself for "he that fails to honor that which IS slays his own soul." It may appear that Philo is here approaching Paul's conception of the *χάρισμα*. The resemblance, however, is only superficial. Although the gifts of which Philo speaks are moral and as such distinguish man as a spiritual and ethical being, they nevertheless are gifts which remain entirely within the sphere of creation. They belong to man as a creature of God's creation and are not viewed as the result of a special spiritual endowment.⁴

Furthermore, Philo's conception of merit also enters into his understanding of the gifts which man has received from God. While in certain passages Philo speaks of God's gifts as wholly free and unmerited,⁵ in

¹ De Sacrif. 57.

² De Spec. Leg., I, 137, 116.

³ De Agric., 168ff.; cf. Quis Rer. Div. 38f.; De Congr. 37f.

⁴ Vid. Grau, op. cit., p. 26.

⁵ De Sacrif. 54; De Char. 122f.

others they are given only to the worthy.¹ T. F. Torrance has suggested, however, that the contradiction is more apparent than real.² Philo distinguishes between a more general χάρις (χάρειες) and a special χάρις (χάρειες). In commenting on Num. 28:2 Philo writes:

'All things,' God says, 'are mine.' And these 'all things' are the 'bounties, and gifts and fruits which ye shall observe and offer to me at my feasts.' Here Moses clearly shows that among existing things there are some which rank lower as benefits, and this benefit is called 'giving' (δόσις). In others the benefit is of a higher kind and this has the special name of 'bounty' (δωρεά).³

Now the lower gifts are coextensive with creation and include man's natural endowments. Isaac's endowments, for example, were gifts "gained by nature."⁴ These gifts are entirely free. Unlike the salesman who gives only upon payment

God is no salesman, hawking his goods in the market, but a free giver of all things, pouring forth eternal fountains of free bounties (χαρίτων) and seeking no return. For He has no needs Himself and no created being is able to repay His gifts.⁵

The higher gifts of God, however, are not free but are given only to the worthy. Such a gift is the covenant. In expounding God's promise to Abram, "I will set my covenant between me and between thee" (Gen. 17:2), Philo says: "Now covenants are drawn up for the benefit of those who are worthy of the gift."⁶ Doubtless, as T. F. Torrance has suggested, the

¹ De Opif. mund. 168; Leg. Alleg. 3.164; De Mut. Nom. 268, De Spec. Leg. I, 284, De Virt., 79.

² Torrance, op. cit., pp. 8f.

³ De Cher. 84.

⁴ De Somn. 1. 160.

⁵ De Cher. 123.

⁶ De Mut. Nom. 52.

covenant-hesed of the Old Testament lies in the background of Philo's thought in this passage "but actually the thought is entirely unhebraic."¹ It is the intrusion of the conception of merit precisely in the higher reaches of the Divine-human relationship that sharply separates Philo's conception of *χάριτες* from Paul's view of the *χαρίσματα*.

In light of this investigation of Philo's use of *χάρισμα* and *χάριτες* we may conclude that although he sets these terms in a religious context, he offers no real help toward understanding the New Testament conception of *χάρισμα*.

C. χάρισμα in Hellenistic Literature

As was pointed out earlier, there are no known instances of *χάρισμα* to be found in classical Greek literature. Neither does the term play a significant role in the Hellenistic writings. It occurs once in the Sibylline Oracles (2. 54) where it is associated with God in a quite general meaning. It is used once also by Alciphron (III. 17. 4) an eminent Greek epistolographer who lived no earlier than the latter part of the second century A. D.² F. Preisigke cites four occurrences in the papyri, the earliest of which belongs to about the fourth century A. D.³ In this passage it is employed in the plural in the sense of gifts bestowed. The remaining examples which he lists are from later times.⁴ None of these instances from the papyri carry a religious significance. On the contrary,

¹ Op. cit., p. 9.

² This passage, however, may come from an Attic comedy; see Arndt and Gingrich, A Greek English Lexicon of the New Testament, s.v.

³ Wörterbuch s.v. The passage referred to is B.G.U., 1044.4 which reads: οὐδ' αὖτε τὰ χάρισματα ὡς πολλὰ ὥς ἡμῖν [ὑμῖν].

⁴ B.G.U., 551.3; P. Lond., 77, 24; Sb 4789, 7.

the word is used in the sense of gifts which men extend to their fellows as expressions of appreciation or thanks. As has already been observed, the Hellenistic Jew, Philo, employs the term in only one passage.¹ It is clear, therefore, that χάρισμα was not a common word in Hellenistic literature.

If χάρισμα is a relatively unknown word in Hellenistic circles, χάρις and χάριτες in the objective sense of gifts occur frequently. Dittenberger is able to cite many examples from the papyri. For instance, χάρις may refer to an honorary inscription or statue erected as a public acknowledgment of some distinguished service rendered by an individual.² Frequently, however, χάρις may go beyond such forms of public honour and designate concrete gifts, such as money, property, or certain special privileges which were bestowed upon persons who distinguished themselves in piety, military prowess, or in some type of public service.³ It should be noted that χάρις when employed in this objective sense of gifts is used of men rather than God.⁴ It represents gifts which men gave to their fellows, especially a benefaction which a superior would bestow upon an inferior. With the growth of the imperial cult, however, and the use of χάρις to designate imperial gifts, the term acquired a certain religious color which formally provides "the linguistic starting-point for the

¹ Log. Alleg., 3, 78. It occurs twice, however, in this passage.

² Dittenberger, *Syll.* (3te Aufl.), 162.15; 282.25; 356.25; 613.35.

³ *Ibid.*, 227.10; 285.20; 391.10; 587.15; 1098.50.

⁴ Wetter, *op. cit.*, p. 18, observes that seldom is χάρις used of the deity.

Christian use of 'charis'.¹ *Χάρις* is now hypostatized and comes to be regarded as a divine attribute of the emperor which might find expression in certain concrete gifts.²

There is another use of *Χάρις* in Hellenistic literature which, in light of our study, deserves attention. G. P. Wetter observes that *Χάρις* is frequently used in the magical papyri in a sense approximating that of mystical power or pneumatic potency.³ In this usage it regularly appears in close association with such words as *δύναμις*, *πνεῦμα*, *πράξις*, *νίκη*, *τύχη* and others, as one of the forms under which supernatural power was available to men.⁴ The examples which Wetter has collected belong, of course, to a period later than the first century A. D., although it is possible that they represent modes of thought much earlier than their literary date. It is conceivable, therefore, that in certain circles of the Hellenistic world *Χάρις* already in the period contemporary with our New Testament was acquiring an activist and dynamic connotation. *Χάρις* was power to achieve a specific objective.

This brief survey of Hellenistic literature may be concluded with two observations: (1) The use of *χάρισμα* is slight and probably

¹ W. Manson, *op. cit.*, p. 39. See the numerous examples of this use of *Χάρις* collected and discussed by Wetter, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-19.

² Torrance, *op. cit.*, p. 5: "The divine kingly *charis* actualizes itself in the form of *Χάριτες*." See the examples he cites and additional ones may be found in Wetter, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-19.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 130ff.; cf. also W. Manson, *op. cit.*, pp. 39f.; Torrance, *op. cit.*, pp. 5f.

⁴ A typical brief example of the many which he cites is *P. Par. Z.* 25: *δοτε χάριν και νικην και δυναμιν και πνευμα* (p. 131); other examples may be found on pp. 130-137.

wholly post-New Testament in date.¹ (2) The use of χάρις (χάριτες) in the sense of gifts is suggestive but is of little positive help in understanding the New Testament concept of χάρισμα. Its use as pneumatic potency, although significant for understanding certain aspects of the later development of the word in the post-apostolic period, contributes little insight into its New Testament meaning.

II. THE NEW TESTAMENT USAGE OF ΧΑΡΙΣΜΑ

The term χάρισμα occurs seventeen times in the New Testament. Fourteen of these instances are found in the generally accepted Pauline epistles,² two in the Pastoral epistles,³ and one in First Peter.⁴ This analysis readily indicates that usage is concentrated in the Pauline epistles. It is appropriate, therefore, that the investigation of the New Testament use of the term should begin with the epistles of Paul.

A. Χάρισμα in the Pauline Epistles

The fullest exposition of the charismatic phenomena in Paul's epistles is found in I Cor. 12-14. Careful attention must be given to the use of the term in this setting.

I Cor. 12. A casual acquaintance with Paul's correspondence with

¹ The only possible exception is the occurrence in Sibyll. Oracles, a passage which cannot be dated with any degree of certainty. Book II in which the instance occurs seems to be of Jewish origin, although it may contain certain Christian interpolations; cf. J. Quasten, Patrology I, p. 168.

² Rom. 1:11; 5:15f.; 6:23; 11:29; 12:6; I Cor. 1:7; 7:7; 12:4, 9, 28, 30f.; II Cor. 1:11.

³ I Tim. 4:14; II Tim. 1:6.

⁴ I Pet. 4:10.

the Corinthian church might suggest that this community was scarcely worthy of the name Christian. Serious doctrinal, moral, and spiritual failures characterized its life. Nevertheless, it was a community throbbingly alive with the Spirit. "Whatever were their failings," says James Moffatt, "a Laodicean temper was not one of them."¹ The demonstrable evidence of the Spirit's presence among them, however, gave rise to certain difficult problems on which they sought help from the Apostle Paul.² It is impossible to recover the exact formulation of their questions, since we are entirely dependent upon Paul's discussion for our knowledge of the situation. But from the materials in chapters 12-14 it is evident that there was a great deal of misunderstanding concerning the nature, purpose, value, and practical ordering of the spiritual phenomena in their midst.

The discussion is introduced by a somewhat ambiguous phrase: *περὶ δὲ τῶν πνευματικῶν* (v. 1). It is not entirely clear whether *πνευματικῶν* should be regarded as a masculine or neuter substantive. If it be read as a masculine, then the reference is to spiritual persons, probably the glossolalists in the Corinthian church.³ If it is regarded as a neuter, then spiritual gifts are primarily in view.⁴ Although it

¹ I Cor., MNTC, p. 176.

² The introductory formula of I Cor. 12:1 when compared with 7:1 and 8:1 suggests that Paul is here replying to questions raised in their correspondence with him.

³ So J. Weiss, HK, ad. loco. and on 14:1, 37; for earlier German scholars holding this view see Godet, I Cor., II, p. 178.

⁴ So Moffatt, MNTC, p. 177; Robertson and Plummer, ICC, ad. loco.; Calvin, CC, ad. loco.; and Hering, CNT, ad. loco. *πνευματικῶν* in 12:1 would then be understood in the same sense as *τὰ πνευματικά* in 14:1. Lietzmann, INT, ad. loco.; Schlatter, Paulus, p. 331; and Craig, IB, X, ad. loco. are non-committal.

seems better to take it in this latter sense, in either case the Corinthians apparently interpreted the term too narrowly as having primary reference to the glossolalists or to glossolalia. Paul proposed to give it new dimensions of depth and breadth and to give it an adequate setting in relation to the total concept of the church as the body of Christ.

The apostle begins by offering a criterion to enable them to distinguish true from false inspiration. Inspiration was a common phenomena in the ancient world. Doubtless, in its external features there was little observable difference between its manifestation in Christian and in pagan circles. How then can Christian inspiration be distinguished from demonic? Paul enunciates a basic principle: " . . . No one speaking by the Spirit of God ever says 'Jesus be cursed!' and no one can say 'Jesus is Lord' except by the Holy Spirit" (v. 3). The assumption is that the Spirit's manifestations are never at variance with the Lordship of Jesus. The Spirit can only honour Jesus as Lord. The Spirit is thus closely associated with Jesus and His working in the community stands under the Lordship of Him who is head of the church.

From this introductory statement Paul moves more directly to a discussion of the Spirit's gifts. In v. 4 the word *χαρίσματα* occurs for the first time in this chapter.¹ It is noteworthy that whereas Paul in v. 1 prefaces his discussion of the spiritual phenomena in the life of the Corinthian church with a term derived from *πνεῦμα*, he now employs a word derived from *χάρις* to designate this phenomena.² The full sig- / these

¹ In all of the instances in this chapter the term is in the plural. In three instances the term occurs in association with healing (vv. 9, 28, 30). In the remaining two cases the reference is more general (vv. 4, 31).

² This observation holds even if *πνευματικῶν* (12:1) is interpreted as masculine since *τὰ πνευματικά* is found in 14:1.

nificance of this double nomenclature will need to be considered later.¹

Before Paul proceeds to give a list of the *χαρίσματα*, he makes a general statement designed to emphasize both the diversity of the phenomena and the unity of its source (vv. 4-6). The assertion is in the form of a triad of parallel clauses which may be set out as follows:

διαρέσεις χαρισμάτων εἰσὶ, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα
 διαρέσεις διακονιῶν εἰσὶ, καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς κύριος
 διαρέσεις ἐνεργημάτων εἰσὶν, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς θεός

The note of diversity is prominently to the fore in the threefold use of *διαρέσεις* while the thought of unity is stressed by the triple occurrence of the phrase *τὸ αὐτό (ὁ αὐτός)*. The statement appears to be modeled on a popular trinitarianism in which the trilogy of divine names, *πνεῦμα*, *κύριος* and *θεός* is balanced by another triad of terms: *χαρίσματα*, *διακονία* and *ἐνεργήματα*.² No thoroughgoing distinctions should be pressed between these three pairs of clauses. The context makes it clear that there is interrelatedness in the way in which the Godhead is brought into connection with the phenomena under discussion. If the Spirit bestows the gift (vv. 4, 11b), it is nevertheless the Spirit of God who does not work independently of Jesus the Lord (v. 3). Moreover, if God inspires the gifts (v. 6), the Spirit is said to do the same (v. 11a). Furthermore, it is unwarranted to attempt to distinguish between *χαρίσματα*, *διακονία* and *ἐνεργήματα* as though each designates a distinct type of phenomena.³ On the contrary, each of these terms views the same

¹ Infra pp. 93ff.

² Cf. Weiss, MK, ad. loco.; Robertson and Plummer, ICC, ad. loco. For a similar popular trinitarian mode of thought in the New Testament, cf. II Cor. 13:14 and Matt. 28:19. In each case, however, the order in which the names occur is different. In our present passage Paul begins with the Spirit, because this category dominates the subsequent discussion.

³ Such a distinction is made by Godet, op. cit., ad. loco.

phenomena from a different point of view. They are *χαρίσματα* in that they are sovereignly bestowed by the Spirit; they are *διακονίαι* in that they are services rendered in the Christian community under the Lordship of Christ; they are *ἐνεργήματα* in that they are manifestations of the power of God at work in the life of the church.¹

Already in this prefatory statement certain basic elements in the Pauline conception of *χάρισμα* are seen to emerge. The word *διαρέσεις* prepares us for the variety of phenomena which is described in vv. 7-10.² The use of *χαρίσματα* suggests the grace-character of the abilities about to be listed. This note is further underscored by the emphasis on the given-ness of the *χαρίσματα* in the paragraph as a whole. The term *διακονίαι* brings the gifts into relation with the concept of service. They are not endowments intended merely to enrich the personal life of the recipient but are abilities which equip for service under the Lordship of Christ.

The list of gifts in vv. 7-10 is not to be regarded as an exhaustive catalogue as is evident when comparison is made with similar lists in I Cor. 12:28-30; Rom. 12:6-8; and Eph. 4:11. The gifts fall roughly into two general categories. There are those which are related primarily to the ministry of the Word; the utterance of wisdom, the utterance of knowledge, prophecy, the ability to distinguish between spirits, tongues, and the interpretation of tongues. There are others which are related primar-

¹ Cf. Schlatter, *op. cit.*, pp. 337f.; Findlay, *ECT*, II, *ad. loco.*; Wendland, *NTD*, VII, *ad. loco.*; E. F. Scott, *The Spirit in the New Testament*, p. 113.

² *Διαρέσεις* properly signifies 'apportioning' rather than 'diversity' but here the result of the distribution involving diversity is primarily in view; cf. Weiss, *MK*, *ad. loco.*

ily to the performance of unusual deeds: faith (i.e. miracle-working faith), gifts of healing, and the ability to work miracles.

A second catalogue of gifts occurs in the latter part of the chapter, vv. 28-30. It will be noted at once that the enumeration here is not solely from the point of view of *χαρίσματα* as in vv. 7-10. Paul begins with functioning personalities; apostles, prophets, and teachers.¹ It is possible that the five remaining terms although impersonal in form should also be understood personally as is done by the R.S.V. translators.² This interesting shift of terminology raises the problem of the relationship between *χάρσμα* and functional role or office in the community. This problem will need to be discussed later.³

A comparison of the two lists reveals that in each Paul places the gifts of tongues and their interpretation last. With this observation may be associated Paul's comparison of the gifts of tongues and prophecy in I Cor. 14 and his injunction in I Cor. 12:31: "But earnestly desire the higher gifts." This suggests a certain hierarchy of value among the *χαρίσματα*. The basis of this evaluation will need to be discussed later.⁴

Between the two lists of gifts in I Cor. 12 and intimately related to his discussion of the *χαρίσματα* is an elaborate development of the body-metaphor. This figure is designed to throw light on their nature and

¹ Cf. W. Manson, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

² Moffatt, *MNTC*, *ad. loco.*, suggests that the transition from personal to abstract terms may have been due to the fact that no personal terms were available to describe these several functions; cf. Héring, *CNT*, *ad. loco.*; but *vid. infra* p. 301.

³ *Infra* pp. 298ff.

⁴ *Infra* pp. 118ff.

purpose. It illuminates the necessity for diversity of gifts and inter-relatedness in their exercise. It emphasizes in an effective manner the basic conviction of Paul that the *χαρίσματα* must serve the common welfare of the Christian community.

A summary of the major contributions of this passage toward the understanding of the concept of *χάρισμα* may now be set down.

(1) The *χαρίσματα* are regarded as sovereignly bestowed gifts. The given-ness of these abilities is never lost sight of throughout the discussion.

(2) The concept covers diverse phenomena. Included are gifts of ecstatic utterance, miracle-working powers, administration, critical discernment, teaching, prophecy, etc. Some of these gifts are unusual and rather spectacular abilities; others are quite ordinary. But both alike are regarded as *χαρίσματα*.

(3) The Spirit is closely related to the *χαρίσματα*. In vv. 4-11 Paul mentions the Spirit no less than seven times. The Spirit is behind the variety of gifts inspiring each of them and apportioning to each member of the body his particular gift as He wills. The various gifts are regarded as so many different manifestations of the Spirit.

(4) The service character of the *χαρίσματα* is prominently to the fore. The various gifts are not bestowed for personal honour or selfish use but for the building up of the corporate Christian community, the church.

Rom. 12:3-8. The word *χάρισμα* occurs only once in this passage (v. 6, in the plural). The entire passage, however, is a fruitful one for an understanding of the Pauline concept. The discussion is projected

against the background of a clarion call to full Christian commitment and discipleship based upon the remembrance of "the mercies of God" (vv. 1-2). The experienced redemption in Christ must now exert a regulative influence on the daily practical life of the Christian community.

Paul introduces his treatment of the *χαρίσματα* by a reference to his own apostolic commission in the phrase "the grace given to me" (v. 3). This is not unusual terminology for Paul; elsewhere, he frequently speaks of his apostleship as a special grace bestowed upon him.¹ Although the term *χάρις* is employed here and not *χάρισμα*, it is evident that Paul is using *χάρις* in the applied sense of a particular embodiment of grace. Paul nowhere explicitly calls his apostleship a *χάρισμα*. Yet this passage together with those just noted and above all I Cor. 12:28 would suggest some relationship between *χάρισμα* and apostleship. This will require further consideration at a later point in our study.²

The historical situation which Paul is addressing in this paragraph appears to have been somewhat as follows. Like other Christian communities in the first century, the Roman church possessed variously gifted persons. Not understanding the true nature of the church and the significance of diversified gifts for the corporate life of the community, there probably was a tendency to think that all must exercise similar functions. Thus each attempted to approximate, if not outstrip, his brother. The concept of the church as an organism in which diversity of gifts was a source of strength rather than weakness was lost in the struggle of each to be like

¹ Rom. 1:5, 15:15; I Cor. 3:10; Gal. 2:9; Eph. 3:2, 7, 8.

² Infra pp. 142ff.

the other.¹ The directness and gravity of Paul's exhortation is underscored by the use of the emphatic phrase λέγω . . . παντὶ τῷ ὄντι ἐν ὑμῖν (v. 3) instead of the more simple construction λέγω . . . ὑμῖν . The apostle is concerned that no one exclude himself from the instruction about to be given.²

To such a situation Paul addresses a straightforward word: μὴ ὑπερφρονεῖν παρ' ὃ δέῃ φρονεῖν (v.3). In this context this can hardly be regarded as merely a prohibition against pride in general. Rather it forbids going beyond the bounds set for one in the gift he has received. Instead of such conduct he should φρονεῖν εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν, ἐκάστῳ ὡς ὁ Θεὸς ἐμέρισε μέτρον πίστεως (v. 3). What is called for here is a realistic self-appraisal in light of the nature and purpose of the gift entrusted to one.³

The proper evaluation of one's self is possible only as a man thinks in accordance with "the measure of faith (μέτρον πίστεως) which God has assigned him" (v. 3). This is an ambiguous expression which will require careful investigation later.⁴ It is sufficient here to note that Paul implies a variation in God's gift of faith to the various mem-

¹ Cf. Michel, MK, p. 263, n. 2, who cites from Schlatter, Gottes Gerechtigkeit, pp. 336f.; also Althaus, NTD, VI, p. 113. J. Knox, IB, IX, pp. 583ff., thinks that the situation in the Roman church was more stable and better ordered than at Corinth. He allows, however, for the possibility of tension over the exercise of gifts and believes that Paul had this in mind here.

² Venema, instead of the text, has conjectured the reading: παντὶ τῷ ὄντι ἐν ὑμῖν which would mean "to everyone who as a charismatic occupies a special place." This would seem, however, to restrict unduly the reference of Paul's thought. Cf. Michel, MK, p. 264, n. 4.

³ Michel, MK, ad. loco. It is possible that Michel presses the association of σωφρονεῖν with "charismatics" in the narrow sense of ecstasies too far. The list of gifts which follows at least does not give the impression that this type of person was very prominent in the Roman church. Cf. J. Knox, loc. cit.

⁴ Infra pp. 173ff.

bers of the Christian community. Lying behind this mode of thought and soon to emerge in the discussion is Paul's regulative notion of the church as the body of Christ, a concept which embodies the ideas both of diversity and of unity. Thus Paul writes in v. 4: "As in one body we have many members, and all the members do not have the same function, so we, though many, are one body in Christ." The way is now prepared for a discussion of the *χαρίσματα*.

Unlike I Cor. 12:4-11 the *χαρίσματα* in this passage are not expressly related to the Spirit but are regarded as concretions of grace (v. 6).¹ God's grace actualizes itself in various forms in different members of the Christian community. The basis for this diversification is hidden in the sovereign will of God for the recipients of the gifts of grace in no way determine the measure of its allotment or the concrete form it assumes in the case of each. The purpose of the differentiated gifts is evident when they are seen within the framework of the body-metaphor. Just as the various organs of the body have various *πράξεις* in order that the body may function properly as an organism, so the various *χαρίσματα* are viewed as different *πράξεις* in order that the corporate community may function as the body of Christ. In the context of the body-metaphor the concept of *χάρισμα* here as in I Cor. 12 receives a service orientation. A *χάρισμα* is not a gift of grace for inward personal enjoyment but is rather an ability to function in a given capacity in the corporate life of the Christian community.

¹ "ἔχοντες δὲ χαρίσματα κατὰ τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν. *Χάρις* is used here in the applied sense approximating the meaning of *χάρισμα*. Perhaps Paul's language is determined somewhat by his preoccupation with the thought of God's grace in Rom. 9-11; 12:1, 3. Cf. Eph. 4:7.

The close relation of *χάρισμα* and service is further pointed up in the list of gifts in vv. 6-8. The structure of these verses is difficult. Either the series of prepositional phrases must be regarded as dependent on *ἔχοντες* or a verb must be supplied with each and the sentences then become exhortations. The latter is generally adopted by commentators and may be regarded as the most satisfactory construction.¹ Thus the indicative assertion concerning the *χάρισμα* is followed by an imperative directing the community to use the gifts for the common welfare of the church.² Furthermore, the *χάρισμα* which are mentioned in this catalogue clearly are abilities and functions which have social significance in contributing to the corporate life of the community.

Here, as in I Cor. 12, the gifts fall into two general categories. There are gifts related to the ministry of the Word: prophecy, teaching, exhorting. There are also gifts which have to do more with concrete deeds: service, contributing possessions, giving aid or administration.³

¹ So Sanday and Headlam, *ICC*, p. 356; J. Knox, *IB*, IX, p. 585; Michel, *MK*, p. 266; Althaus, *NTD*, VI, p. 113. Denney, *ECT*, II, p. 689f., would supply one common apodosis to the entire series.

² Cf. Dodd, *Romans*, *MNTC*, p. 195: "His point is that whatever special talent a member of the church may possess it is a gift of the grace of God, and gives no claim to dignity or pre-eminence in the community, but marks out that individual for a particular line of service, to which he must devote himself."

³ *ὁ προϊστάμενος*. The meaning here is ambiguous. The term may refer to one who is active in administration; so Sanday and Headlam, *ICC*, ad. loco. On the other hand, Michel, *MK*, ad. loco.; and Kühn, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Römer*, ad. loco., argue for the rendering "one who gives aid." *Vid. infra* pp. 289ff.

doing acts of mercy.¹ This list of *χαρίσματα* is notable for its lack of what we may call extraordinary or spectacular gifts. No mention is made of glossolalia or miracle-working abilities. With perhaps the exception of prophecy these *χαρίσματα* are rather mundane gifts which do not call special attention to themselves. But even such abilities which the most humble of Christians may possess are nonetheless *χαρίσματα*. Attention may also be called to the interesting shift in the form in which the gifts are designated. In the case of the first two, nouns are employed, while for the remaining five an articular participial construction is followed. There is no hint, however, that any of these gifts are restricted to a few office-bearers in the community. Rather the context with its emphasis on the body in which each has a contribution to make would suggest a group-ministry.²

The following statements summarize the results of the foregoing study of this passage:

- (1) The *χαρίσματα* are viewed as concretions of grace; they are not explicitly related to the Spirit as in I Cor. 12.
- (2) Paul grounds his apostleship in a particular personal gift of *χάρις* which suggests a relationship between *χάρισμα* and apostleship.

¹ In the case of the three last mentioned services in v. 8, Denney, *EGT*, II, p. 691, regards the *χάρισμα* as consisting in the spirit associated in each case with the special function in view. It is more likely, however, that Paul adheres even in these instances to his conception of a *χάρισμα* as a service ability rather than the spirit in which such an ability should be exercised. These several modifying prepositional phrases thus stand in relation to the various gifts similar to the way in which love is related to the gifts.

² Cf. Dodd, *MNTC*, p. 195; Denney, *EGT*, II, p. 690. Note also the inclusiveness of reference in Paul's introductory statement: *παντὶ τῷ ὄντι ἐν ὑμῖν* (v.3).

(3) The *χαρίσματα* are not general spiritual gifts but abilities which enable members of the Christian community to serve one another. The gifts are diverse in nature and practical in purpose. For the most part, the gifts are rather ordinary in character.

(4) The grace-service-character of the *χαρίσματα* allows no room for self-conceit but constitutes an obligation to use one's gift with proper recognition of its character and purpose and in the spirit of genuine love.

(5) This passage, as in I Cor. 12, suggests a variety and richness of charismatic endowments.

(6) The emphasis in *χάρισμα* is on function rather than office or status.

I Cor. 1:4-7. Although the Corinthian church was far from being a model one, Paul's first word to them was one of genuine thanks to God for His grace to them (v. 4). Paul has in mind more than a general display of divine favor for he speaks of the grace which "was given" to them "in Christ Jesus." Grace is thus closely associated with Christ in whom it has been actualized in history. This gracious dealing of God with them in Christ is the presupposition of the whole of their Christian experience.¹ The thoroughgoing and comprehensive result of God's grace in their lives is suggested by the phrase "in every way you were enriched in him" (v. 5). But Paul is not content with a general reference to the way in which divine *χάρις* found expression among them; he calls specific attention to two concrete forms of manifestations, namely, *ἐν παντὶ λόγῳ καὶ πάσῃ*

¹ Grosheide, NICNT, ad. loco., is wrong in regarding *χάρις* in v. 4 as carrying the same sense as *χάρισμα* in v. 7. Verse 7 is a subordinate clause of result (*ὥστε*) which is dependent upon what precedes. Cf. Godet, I Cor., ad. loco.

γνώσει (v. 5). Probably λόγος and γνώσις are particularly mentioned because they highlight the special areas in which the Corinthian church was notably endowed.¹

The precise reference of these two phrases is not easy to determine. Perhaps they should not be interpreted too narrowly. Under λόγος may be included the various forms of speech which are mentioned later in the epistle, such as prophecy, teaching, and tongues. Similarly, γνώσις as Spirit-wrought knowledge may include not only an understanding of the deeper aspects of the gospel but also the ability to discern spirits and to interpret tongues.² Schlatter has suggested a more specific reference.

He would see in γνώσις primarily practical knowledge for the guidance of the church's life in particular situations of need. The Christian community constantly encountered new situations in which a special word of guidance was needed to make clear the will of God for its life. The ability to speak such a word from God appropriate to the demand of each new situation is what Paul has in mind in the phrase ἐν παντὶ λόγῳ καὶ πάσῃ γνώσει.³ It would seem, however, that this interpretation would unduly restrict the reference of Paul's thought. In this introductory paragraph Paul's mind appears to be moving along more inclusive lines.⁴ It would seem better, therefore, to take λόγος and γνώσις

¹ These two expressions, however, are not meant to exhaust the enrichment referred to in the phrase ἐν ἡ ἐπλουτίσθητε ἐν αὐτῷ .

² Cf. Weiss, MK, ad. loco.; Wendland, NTD, VII, ad. loco.; Lightfoot, Notes, ad. loco.

³ Schlatter, Paulus, p. 62; Grau, op. cit., pp. 60f., adopts this interpretation.

⁴ Note the occurrence of such phrases as ἐν παντὶ ἐπλουτίσθητε ; ἐν παντὶ λόγῳ καὶ πάσῃ γνώσει ; μὴ ὑστερεῖσθαι ἐν μηδενὶ χαρίσματι.

/ παντὶ

as somewhat inclusive terms covering certain of the diverse phenomena found in I Cor. 12-14. In either case, however, Paul would here have in mind abilities given to various members of the Christian community in order to build up and sustain the corporate life of the group. It is understandable, therefore, why the term *χάρισμα* should be employed in v. 7.¹

The fullness and richness of the community's charismatic endowment is reflected in Paul's statement: *ὑμᾶς μὴ ὑστερεῖσθαι ἐν μηδενὶ χάρισματι* (v. 7).² Although it may be too much to insist that Paul had a definite norm in mind (either theoretical or historical), it is tempting to see here an allusion to variation in gifts among the early Christian communities and the unusual status of the Corinthian church when compared in this respect with other churches.³

It should be noted also that the gifts which enriched the church's life are closely associated with the proclamation of the gospel among them (v. 6). It is not clear whether this attestation which accompanied the preaching of the gospel and is described as taking place *ἐν ὑμῖν* should be understood as occurring "in" them (A.V.) or "among" them (R.S.V.). However this may be, Paul's point is clear: their spiritual

¹ Lightfoot, *Notes*, *ad. loco.*, thinks that the context requires that *χάρισμα* here be understood in the sense of "all spiritual graces and endowments." Robertson and Plummer, *ICC*, *ad. loco.*, and Grosheide, *NICNT*, *ad. loco.*, are also inclined to a more general usage. But Weiss, *MK*, *ad. loco.*, Lietzmann, *HNT*, *ad. loco.*, Wendland, *NTD*, VII, *ad. loco.*, favor the meaning found in I Cor. 12. This connotation is preferable in light of the close association of *χάρισμα* with v. 5.

² Robertson and Plummer, *ICC*, *ad. loco.*, would regard *ὑστερεῖσθαι* as a middle and suggest that it applies "to feelings rather than to external facts." Cf. Parry, *CCT*, *ad. loco.*: "If this is so, there is a delicate suggestion of criticism." In light of I Cor. 12-14, however, the wealth of charismatic phenomena alluded to here need not be questioned.

³ Cf. Schlatter, *Paulus*, p. 64.

enrichment is due subjectively to their full and sincere acceptance of the gospel just as it is rooted objectively in the grace of God which was given to them in Christ Jesus. The phenomena in view here are not to be regarded as simply normal human abilities but as manifestations of divine power in the lives of those who "were called into the fellowship of his Son, Jesus Christ our Lord" (v. 9).

The following summary observations on this passage may now be set down:

(1) Here, as in Rom. 12:3-8, the *χαρίσματα* are closely related to *χάρις*. They are regarded as concretions of grace. The explicit connection of the *χαρίσματα* with the Spirit which is so prominently to the fore in I Cor. 12:4-11 is absent in this passage.

(2) The *χαρίσματα* are not only concretions of grace in a general way but are related specifically to the grace which was given in Christ. Moreover, they appear only in the community where response to the proclamation of the gospel is found. They are thus phenomena which belong to the community where Christ is known as Saviour and Lord.

(3) The *χαρίσματα* are best understood as service-abilities by which the life of the Christian community is built up and carried forward.

(4) This passage suggests the wealth of charismatic phenomena in the Corinthian church. This impression is supported by the detail provided by I Cor. 12-14.

I Cor. 7:7. Here *χάρισμα* is brought into relation with the sex life. Paul regards his ability to lead a celibate life as a *χάρισμα* given to him by God.

It is not necessary for the purpose of this study to enter into the

much discussed problem of Paul's attitude toward marriage. Suffice it to say that even though he felt himself called to a life of celibacy, he did not seek to compel others to renounce marriage. Marriage as such is not sinful and, therefore, is not basically antithetical to the Christian calling.¹ Paul knew that his ability to remain unmarried was rooted in a divine gift which was not given to all men and apart from which an attempt at celibacy might prove morally and spiritually disastrous. Life must be ordered in view of the endowments which God has given for "each has his own special gift from God, one of one kind and one of another" (v. 7b).

The *χάρισμα* of celibacy is not to be thought of as being merely the unmarried state. Neither does it consist of special strength of will in order to curb the sexual urge which seeks fulfillment in marriage. Nor yet is it the ability to shoulder the cross of sacrificed companionship and happiness. The *χάρισμα* consisted rather in an inner disposition to celibacy, a freedom and contentment on the basis of which he could pursue such a life "without exhausting struggle or conscious impoverishment of character."² This disposition was not the product of studied cultivation or stoic self-discipline. It was a divinely given gift.

Paul, however, is not content simply to speak of it as a gift in a general sense; it is a *χάρισμα*. Why should he so designate it? J. Weiss has suggested that Paul regarded it as a special endowment given by the Holy Spirit.³ Undoubtedly, Paul would have affirmed this association if queried as is abundantly clear from his discussion in I Cor.

¹ Cf. I Cor. 7:28.

² Goudge, *WC*, *ad. loco*.

³ *MK*, *ad. loco*. He further points out that self-control was regarded as a gift of God in hellenistic-Jewish thought. *Wisd.* 8:21 (Grimm) *Aristeas* 237, 248; cf. also I Clem. 38:2.

12:4-11. This connection, however, is not made explicit here. Furthermore, it does not carry us far enough in accounting for the choice of the term here. Other phenomena in the life of the Christian may likewise be traced to the action of the Spirit. The distinctive character of a

χάρισμα is to be sought rather in its relation to the promotion of kingdom-interests. It would seem that Paul regarded his ability to remain unmarried happily as a χάρισμα because he saw in it "an instrument for preaching the Gospel."¹ This was no fortuitous circumstance but, on the contrary, was the result of a divine arrangement.

If Paul regarded his disposition to celibacy as a χάρισμα, the question may be raised whether he also understood the aptitude for marriage in a similar fashion. It is clear from Paul's statement: ² ἕκαστος ἴδιον ἔχει χάρισμα ἐκ Θεοῦ, ὁ μὲν οὕτως, ὁ δὲ οὕτως (v. 7b) that he is distinguishing the χάρισμα of celibacy from some other χάρισμα or χαρίσματα. What Paul has in mind, however, is not made explicit. Probably, Paul is thinking of χαρίσματα such as are mentioned in I Cor. 12 rather than marriage.² The rank and file are conditioned for marriage by birth. In this state they may indeed serve God with the χαρίσματα which he has given them. It is doubtful, however, whether Paul would have regarded the disposition for marriage as a χάρισμα.³

¹ Lightfoot, Notes, ad. loco. Note the service orientation in Paul's discussion of the relative merits of marriage and celibacy in I Cor. 7:29-35; cf. also Jesus' saying in Matt. 19:12.

² Edwards, I Cor., ad. loco., Godet, I Cor., ad. loco., would restrict the reference to marriage. On the other hand, Lietzmann, HNT, ad. loco.; Grosheide, NICNT, ad. loco.; Findlay, EGT, II, ad. loco., favor a wider reference.

³ Cf. Schlatter, Paulus, p. 219.

The conclusions which follow from the study of this passage may now be summarized:

(1) *Χάρισμα* is here employed for the ability to pursue a celibate life happily and without particular moral danger.

(2) The term appears to be chosen not merely because the ability is God-given, but as the larger context would suggest, it is seen as a means of advancing more effectively the work of the church.

(3) Neither *χάρις* nor *πνεῦμα* are explicitly associated with *χάρισμα*, although undoubtedly such connections are presupposed.

Rom. 1:11. In this passage *χάρισμα* is employed in connection with Paul's intended visit to the Christian community in Rome. He longs to see them in order that he may impart some spiritual gift to strengthen them. This is the only occurrence of the phrase *πνευματικὸν χάρισμα* in Paul's epistles. The adjective *πνευματικόν* serves to emphasize the relation of the *χάρισμα* to the Spirit in respect both to its nature and its source. Thus some divine gift to the community is in view. What is the content of this *χάρισμα* which Paul hopes to share with the Roman church?

It is possible that Paul has in mind the sort of gifts which are described in I Cor. 12:4ff. and Rom. 12:6ff. John Knox has suggested that Paul wished to impart some ecstatic gift in which the Roman church was deficient, a lack which he felt able and eager to supply.¹ Apart from the fact that neither in I Cor. 12 nor Rom. 12 is the impression given that

¹ J. Knox, The Early Church and the Coming Great Church, p. 28: Lightfoot, Notes, ad. loco., regards it conceivable that *χάρισμα* might here include some of the gifts mentioned in I Cor. 12:4ff., such as *ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων*, providing the apostles had power to communicate such gifts. He thinks it unlikely, however, that this is the meaning here.

Paul thought of the *χαρίσματα* as bestowed through human mediation, it is doubtful whether he was really interested in the promotion of ecstatic phenomena in the church. Elsewhere he seems anxious to exalt the ethically fruitful and practically useful gifts over the ecstatic.¹

In this same paragraph we are informed of Paul's intention "to preach the gospel" to the Roman Christians (v. 15). It is better, therefore, to understand *πνευματικὸν χάρισμα* in the general sense of the anticipated result of the proclamation of the gospel among them.² Paul hopes that his ministry among them will result in the enlargement of their comprehension of the gospel and in the consequent spiritual enrichment and strengthening of their lives.³ The indefiniteness of Paul's expression as indicated by *τι* suggests that Paul does not know in advance of his coming to Rome in what specific ways this general objective will be implemented. Only in meeting with the church can he discover the areas in which they most need help.⁴ Moreover, Paul does not expect only to give some spiritual gift to the Romans, he also looks forward to receiving spiritual help from them (v. 12).⁵

The term *χάρισμα* is here set in a context which strongly accents the idea associated with its occurrence in the previous passages studied,

¹ E.g. I Cor. 14.

² Lietzmann, *HNT*, *ad. loco.*, takes *πνευματικὸν χάρισμα* in the sense of "geistgewirkte Predigt" of the apostle. Paul's emphasis, however, seems to be laid on the result of the preaching rather than the act.

³ Cf. Rom. 15:29.

⁴ Michel, *MK*, *ad. loco.*

⁵ Michel, *ibid.*, suggests that Paul may wish to learn of the revelations which have been given to the Roman pneumatikers.

X Is any other meaning of the Greek word χάρισμα possible in this passage?

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namely, the building up of the Christian community through the strengthening of its faith and life. But the use is slightly different from that in I Cor. 12 and Rom. 12. There it designates some ministry given to the community for the advancement of its common life. In this passage, however, it is viewed as the result of such a ministry. Paul through the exercise of his gifts would bring to the Roman Christians *τὸ χάρισμα πνευματικόν* and they in turn through the exercise of their God-given gifts (cf. Rom. 12:6ff.) would impart *χάρισμα πνευματικόν* to him.¹ X

The discussion on this passage may be brought to a conclusion with the following observations:

- (1) *Χάρισμα* is here associated with *πνευματικόν* thus suggesting that in origin and nature it is related to the Spirit.
- (2) The use of the term is oriented to the advancement of the corporate life of the Christian community.
- (3) In this passage *χάρισμα* designates the result of a service-ministry rather than a service gift per se.

II Cor. 1:11. The word *χάρισμα* occurs here in connection with Paul's allusion to an experience which came to him in the Roman province of Asia. The exact nature of this experience can no longer be determined. Probably it occurred in connection with Paul's extensive Ephesian ministry where it is known that Paul faced much opposition.² Whatever the precise

¹ Cf. Sanday and Headlam, ICC, ad. loco. He regards this passage as an illustration of John 7:38.

² I Cor. 16:9. Luke's account (Acts 19) of Paul's Ephesian ministry is obviously incomplete. Nothing in his account answers to the demands of II Cor. 1:8ff. Paul alludes to fighting with beasts at Ephesus (I Cor. 15:32) but the meaning of this passage is notoriously difficult; vid. Wendland, NTD, VII, ad. loco. It is perhaps best to regard the experience referred to in II Cor. 1:8ff. as hidden among the many perils and sufferings to which reference is made in II Cor. 11:3ff. Vid. Strachan, II Cor. MNTC, p. 51; cf. Lake, Earlier Epistles of St. Paul, p. 143, n. 2.

nature of this experience the Corinthians apparently already knew something of it but not its full gravity. From the human point of view, Paul's prospect was utterly hopeless. He felt as though he had received "the sentence of death."¹ But God "who raises the dead" intervened and delivered him. Paul expected that this incident would not be the last of such experiences but that God through their prayers would deliver him in future situations of similar difficulty. Now such a deliverance as he had been granted and would doubtless experience again in similar future situations, he calls a *χάρισμα*.² When the context is carefully examined, it will be observed that the experience designated by the term *χάρισμα* is not limited merely to the person of Paul in its significance. To be sure, Paul's life was saved but his deliverance is viewed from the standpoint of what it will mean in his continued ministry to the church rather than as a personal gift. The incident itself is introduced in the record (as *γάρ* in v. 8 would indicate) as a concrete example of the point made in the preceding paragraph. There Paul suggests that both the sufferings and the comfort which he has experienced in his ministry would enable him to be of more genuine help to the Corinthians in their sufferings (vv. 3-7). Thus out of the experience of extreme affliction and deliverance which befell him in Asia, the Corinthians may expect not only a prolonged but an even more fruitful ministry on their behalf.

¹ ". . . Even in a life of peril this peril in Asia had marked an era," J. A. Beet, quoted by Plummer, *II Cor.*, *ICC*, *ad. loco*.

² Windisch, *MK*, *ad. loco*., understands *χάρισμα* in this context to mean a grace-gift in the sense of a special endowment of the Spirit. It is better, however, to take it as referring to Paul's deliverance from danger as do Lietzmann, *INT*, *ad. loco*.; Wendland, *NTD*, VII, *ad. loco*., Plummer, *ICC*, *ad. loco*. It would seem best not to restrict the reference of *χάρισμα* (v. 11) solely to the deliverance already experienced since vv. 10b-11 seem to look also to the future. Cf. Filson, *IB*, X, *ad. loco*.; Wendland, *loc. cit*.

Furthermore, Paul views such deliverances as affording an occasion for the widespread giving of thanks to God on the part of Christian people in that the prayers of many on Paul's behalf have been answered. God has acted in saving his servant from the very jaws of death and the experience of answered prayer has strengthened the faith and deepened the spiritual life of the Christian community. Thus *χάρισμα* here designates that type of experience which has significance for the Christian community rather than for Paul alone. As Strachan observes: ". . . His deliverances are not merely a private boon, but given in order to equip him for service and to enrich the life of the whole church."¹

The study of this passage may now be summarized as follows:

- (1) *Χάρισμα* here refers to a historical experience (or experiences) of deliverance from grave peril by divine aid.
- (2) The experience so designated is viewed as having significance for the building up of the Christian community.

Rom. 5:15f.; 6:23; 11:29. In two of these passages Paul employs *χάρισμα* in a broad soteriological sense roughly synonymous with *χάρις*. In the first passage (Rom. 5:15f.) *χάρισμα* occurs twice in the well-known Adam-Christ parallel. It is set on the one hand in contrast to such terms as *παράπτωμα* and *κρίμα* which are associated with the figure of Adam. On the other hand, it is clearly within the orbit of divine action and its meaning is illuminated by such terms as *δωρεά*, *χάρις* and *δῶρημα* which are closely related to it in the context. It is clear that *χάρισμα* here means the salvation which God has provided for men in Jesus Christ. It is *χάρις* actualizing itself in redemptive

¹ MNTC, ad. loco.; cf. Schlatter, Paulus, p. 467.

action in the midst of the human predicament.¹ Similarly, in the second passage (Rom. 6:23) *χάρισμα* comprehends the saving deed of God in Christ. It is set in contrast to the wages (*ὀψώνια*) which sin pays its servants.² It stands for that to which sinful men have no claim, but which is nonetheless offered to men in Christ out of pure grace. Its rich content is tersely unfolded in the phrase *ζωὴ αἰώνιος*.

In these two passages *χάρισμα* carries a comprehensive soteriological connotation which we have not encountered previously in Paul. In its intimate connection, however, with the person and work of Christ (it does not designate a gift detachable from His person but rather God's saving deed in Him) something of the ministerial flavor of the term which has been observed in the use of *χάρισμα* elsewhere is preserved. It stands for the redeeming ministry of Christ by which God has constituted in history a people for Himself.³ It is preparatory to, and foundational for, the existence of that community upon which He can bestow *δικαιώσεις χαρισμάτων*.

In Rom. 11:29 Paul employs *χάρισμα* in the plural with reference to certain blessings which God bestowed upon the nation Israel. The gifts

¹ Cf. Michel, *MK*, ad. loco.: "Gnade und Gnadengeschenk dürfen sachlich nicht von einander geschieden werden: die Gnade ist selbst die Gabe." He further points out that *χάρισμα* in this passage is not related either to the notion of church office nor to the doctrine of the Spirit (p. 124, n. 3).

² See the suggestive treatment of this passage in *TWNT*, V, p. 592. Grau, *op. cit.*, p. 76, remarks that in Rom. 6:23 Paul formally approximates most closely the Hellenistic conception of *χάρισμα* as a present indicating a favorable attitude on the part of the giver. Content-wise, however, Paul's usage passes far beyond that of Hellenism by the close association of *χάρισμα* with the person and work of Christ. x?

³ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 75.

are not specified but it is reasonable to suppose that Paul is alluding to the privileges of grace which he already enumerated in Rom. 9:4ff.¹ Thus the χαρίσματα have to do with God's choice of Israel for a special mission in the world. They are not natural gifts which God gives to men as creator but are set within a heilsgeschichtliche context. They are those historical spiritual privileges which God as redeemer graciously bestowed upon the nation Israel with a view to the achievement of His redemptive purpose through her in the world.

It is clear that in this passage χάρισμα has a modified meaning when compared with its use in I Cor. 12 and Rom. 12. But its setting in the framework of God's redemptive action and its use to designate gifts which were intended to equip Israel for service in the world serve to separate it widely from its use in Philo or in Hellenism.

Summary and definition of Paul's use of χάρισμα. In light of the foregoing study it is evident that Paul's use of χάρισμα is characterized by a rather wide latitude of reference. Occasionally, he employs it as follows: in the broad soteriological sense roughly synonymous with χάρις; to designate the ability to remain celibate; to refer to certain spiritual and religious privileges granted to the nation Israel; to describe an unusual deliverance from some great danger; to designate some particular enrichment of spiritual life and faith. More frequently, however, it is a term applied to service-abilities, both of an ordinary and

¹ So Denney, EGT, II, ad. loco.; Sanday and Headlam, ICC, ad. loco.; Michel, MK, ad. loco. Godet, Rom., ad. loco., however, sees here a reference to the intellectual and moral qualifications with which Israel was endowed for her mission in the world. The addition of κλησεις to χαρίσματα is not to be understood as something other than the χαρίσματα but as the basic and most important of them. Calvin, CC, ad. loco., construes the phrase to mean "the gift of calling."

unusual character which are granted to various members of the Christian community. Two more or less constant motifs may be discerned in the various uses of χάρισμα : (1) the grace-character of the phenomena, and (2) their relation to the furtherance of the heilsgeschichtliche purpose of God, particularly to the building up of the Christian church.

In I Cor. 1:7; 12:4, 9, 28, 30f.; Rom. 12:6 and perhaps I Cor. 7:7 the term is used in what may be described as "a semi-technical sense"¹ for the various service-abilities which were in evidence in the corporate life of the church. Here the above mentioned motifs are clearly seen.²

Paul's use of the term in these passages may be defined as follows:

The χαρίσματα are service-abilities divinely given to Christians by the Holy Spirit for the purpose of building up the church.³

B. Χάρισμα in the Pastoral Epistles

Χάρισμα occurs only twice in the Pastorals and in both instances it is brought into relation with Timothy's responsibilities as a minister of Christ. In the first passage Timothy is admonished: "Do not neglect the gift (χαρίσματος) which was given you by prophetic utterance when the elders laid their hands upon you" (I Tim. 4:14). Similarly, in the second passage: "I remind you to rekindle the gift of God (χάρισμα

¹ Moffatt, Grace in the New Testament, p. 109.

² In addition to these characteristic features, the relation of the χαρίσματα to the Spirit is explicitly elaborated in the fullest of these passages, namely, I Cor. 12.

³ Cf. Lauterburg, Der Begriff des Charismen, p. 39; Grau, op. cit., p. 79f.; Wobbe, Der Charis-Gedanke bei Paulus, pp. 64f.; Hort, The Christian Ecclesia, pp. 153f. It is the weakness of H. Weinel's Die Wirkungen des Geistes that he fails to reckon sufficiently with the service character of the χαρίσματα as a feature which distinguishes them from the other operations of the Spirit in the Christian community.

τοῦ Θεοῦ) that is within you through the laying on of my hands"
(II Tim. 1:6).

The content of the χάρισμα referred to in these passages is not explicitly stated. The context of both passages, however, would suggest that it is related to Timothy's special work as an evangelist. He is urged to "attend to the public reading of scripture, to preaching, to teaching."¹ He is summarily told: "Practice these duties, devote yourself to them."² Furthermore, he is enjoined: "Do not be ashamed then of testifying to our Lord, nor of me his prisoner, but take your share of suffering for the gospel in the power of God."³ Elsewhere he is charged to

preach the word, be urgent in season and out of season, convince, rebuke, and exhort, be unfailing in patience and in teaching always be steady, endure suffering, do the work of an evangelist, fulfill your ministry.⁴

Although the χάρισμα is closely associated with Timothy's particular Christian vocation, it is hardly to be identified with an office.⁵ W. Lock would take it as referring to Timothy's ability to preach and his authority to control others.⁶ Moffatt finds the gift in "the spirit of apostolic devotion and brave courage needed for witnessing to the gospel or for

¹ I Tim. 4:13.

² I Tim. 4:15.

³ II Tim. 1:8.

⁴ II Tim. 4:2, 5.

⁵ As does E. F. Scott, The Pastoral Epistles, MNTC, pp. 52f. The phrase, ἐν σοί, which occurs in both passages (I Tim. 4:14; II Tim. 1:6) would seem to suggest an inner spiritual endowment rather than an office. Also ἀναστρέφειν (II Tim. 1:6) is hardly appropriate if an office is in view.

⁶ The Pastoral Epistles, ICC, p. 53. Cf. N. White, EGT, IV, on II Tim. 1:6 who would restrict it to the gift of administration and rule.

preaching the Word."¹ G. W. H. Lampe is of the opinion that Timothy's *χάρισμα* took the form of reading, exhortation and teaching which are mentioned just prior to the gift (I Tim. 4:13f.).² F. Grau has recently argued that the *χάρισμα* is not to be identified with these gifts but is a special service-endowment of the Spirit which enabled Timothy for the various functions of exhortation and teaching.³ Perhaps we cannot identify the *χάρισμα* more precisely than to say that it was "a special gift of God, a special fitness bestowed by Him to enable Timothy to fulfill a distinctive function" and broadly speaking, this was the work of an evangelist.⁴ We may conclude, therefore, that the *χάρισμα* is a service-oriented ability. In this respect the usage here is similar to that observed earlier in Paul.

Certain new features, however, do emerge in the use of *χάρισμα* in the Pastorals. Wetter⁵ has called attention to the fact that whereas in Paul a *χάρισμα* is regarded as a direct gift of God without human mediation in the Pastorals we are informed that Timothy received his gift in connection with prophetic activity and the imposition of hands. He

¹ Grace in the New Testament, p. 113; cf. Jeremias, NTD, IX, p. 30, who regards II Tim. 1:7 as throwing light on the content of the *χάρισμα* in view.

² Lampe, The Seal of the Spirit, p. 74.

³ Op. cit., p. 81. He is careful, however, to remark that the *χάρισμα* is not simply to be identified with the gift of the Spirit as such which is given to all Christians but what is given to all that Timothy has received in an entirely special and outstanding manner equipping him for his special work.

⁴ Hort, op. cit., p. 185. He would further limit it by saying that Timothy was prepared to be "St. Paul's special associate in his quite unique evangelistic work." Cf. W. Manson, op. cit., pp. 53f.

⁵ Op. cit., pp. 180f. Cf. also Büchsel, Der Geist Gottes, pp. 455f; Lauterburg, op. cit., pp. 66f.

notes further that there is no mention of faith or the Spirit in connection with the bestowal of the *χάρισμα*. The inference drawn from these observations is that we have now moved from a spontaneous, democratic charismatic life in which the Spirit sovereignly endows various members of the church with *χάρισμα* to a restricted manifestation of such gifts in which the factors of human mediation and office are circumscribing limitations. As will be seen, however, the validity of this conclusion is open to question.

It is not entirely clear when hands were laid on Timothy nor by whom. In I Tim. 4:14 the elders are said to have laid hands on him, while in II Tim. 1:6 Paul is represented as laying hands on him. It is possible that two different occasions may be in view, such as the original call of Timothy to accompany Paul (Acts 16:2) and a later consecration for his special mission in Ephesus.¹ If the same event is in view, probably we should regard the statement in II Tim. 1:6 as "an abbreviated reference to the circumstances" described more fully in I Tim. 4:14. "The apostle is concentrating for the moment solely on his own personal part in the solemn act by which Timothy had been set apart."²

The precise role of prophecy in relation to the laying on of hands and Timothy's reception of a *χάρισμα* is also somewhat ambiguous. In I Tim. 1:18 there is a reference to certain "prophetic utterances" which pointed to Timothy presumably as God's chosen instrument for special Christian service. If great stress is placed upon II Tim. 1:6 where the gift is said to have been given to Timothy "through the laying on of Paul's

¹ Cf. Jeremias, *NTD*, IX, p. 30. Cf. p. 13.

² W. Manson, *op. cit.*, p. 55. For another and rather ingenious solution, see Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, pp. 244f.

hands,¹ the situation may be reconstructed as follows: prophetic utterances served to designate Timothy as the man upon whom hands were to be laid in order that a *χάρισμα* might be bestowed upon him and thus fitted for special service in the work of the church.²

On the other hand, if I Tim. 4:18 and 4:14 are taken together, it is possible to conclude that the Spirit's choice of Timothy was indicated by prophetic utterance and was then publicly recognized by the elders of the church (and Paul) in the laying on of hands. Furthermore, II Tim. 1:6 may be interpreted by reference to I Tim. 4:14. This would then mean that the gift, whatever its precise character, was

discerned as potential in Timothy before it was 'given' with the laying on of hands on the same occasion by the Elders, and in the light of this fact the word 'given' will be naturally understood to mean that the divine 'charisma' now manifested itself empirically . . . The laying on of hands indicates the circumstantial conditions³ of the church's act of commissioning, from which Timothy's active exercise of the 'gift' dated.⁴

On the whole, this would seem to be the preferable interpretation.⁵

Timothy is urged not to neglect his *χάρισμα* but to cultivate it.⁶ Probably in the face of the difficult task he was facing in Ephesus,

¹ *διὰ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν μου* .

NT
x

² Cf. B. S. Easton, The Pastoral Epistles on I Tim. 4:14.

³ The preposition is *μετά*; (*μετὰ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν* ; I Tim. 4:14).

x

⁴ W. Manson, op. cit., p. 54. For this use of "given" Manson cites I Cor. 12:7f. and II Cor. 12:7. For the use of *διὰ* in the sense of accompanying circumstances vid. Moule, An Idiom Book of New Testament Greek, p. 57.

⁵ Cf. R. Sohm, Kirchenrecht, I, p. 65, n. 18; Schweizer, Das Leben des Herrn, p. 115, n. 35; W. Michaelis, Das Alte Testament, p. 83; vid. further infra

⁶ Wetter, op. cit., p. 181, suggests that this is not a Pauline idea. The hortatory note, however, is embedded in Rom. 12:6ff.

he was in danger of not aggressively pursuing his work.¹ He is, therefore, admonished to a vigorous exercise of his gift. It is not clear whether censure is intended by ἀναζωπυρεῖν (II Tim. 1:6) for failure on the part of Timothy or whether the thought is rather "that something already aglow should be fanned into flame."² In any case, the thrust of the injunction is clear: Timothy needs to give conscious attention to the exercise of his gift if he would fulfill the purpose implicit in his call.

The preceding study may now be summarized as follows:

(1) There is no reference to the widely diffused and rich charismatic phenomena in the Pastorals which was noted earlier in Paul's epistles. Perhaps, however, this may be accounted for by the personal address of these letters.

(2) Although the χάρισμα is "given," its bestowal is not directly associated with the Spirit. Indirectly, however, such a connection is formed inasmuch as the χάρισμα is linked with prophecy, an activity of the Spirit.

(3) The χάρισμα is "given" in connection with the setting apart of Timothy to special Christian service. Whether this event is to be identified with his original call to become an associate of Paul's in missionary service or his later assignment to work in Ephesus, is not clear.

¹ Cf. I Cor. 16:10f. Jeremias, *NTD*, IX, p. 42, remarks: "Timotheus neigt zur Ängstlichkeit, ist leicht versagt. Das darf nicht sein."

² Ἀναζωπυρεῖν may mean stir up (A.V.) or rekindle (R.S.V.). See references in Arndt and Gingrich, *op. cit.*, s.v. and Simpson, *The Pastoral Epistles*, ad. loco. E. F. Scott, *MNTC*, ad. loco., Lock, *ICC*, ad. loco., Easton, *op. cit.*, ad. loco., prefer to see here the thought that something already aglow should be fanned into flame.

(4) The concept of χάρισμα, although associated with consecration to service as an apostolic associate, is focused on service rather than office. The emphasis is not on the gift per se as a concomitant of "office" but on the employment of the gift in the service to which he has been called. As already observed in Paul's letters, χάρισμα is also here related to the promotion of the church's life and work.

(5) The χάρισμα is to be deliberately cultivated and not neglected.

C. Χάρισμα in First Peter

The only occurrence of χάρισμα in the New Testament outside of the epistles already examined is in I Pet. 4:10. The author is offering a series of practical exhortations for living in light of the anticipated consummation of all things. Included among his counsels is the admonition: "As each has received a gift (χάρισμα) employ it for one another, as good stewards of God's varied grace" (v. 10). Peter assumes that various members of the Christian community have received gifts and that these gifts are of various kinds. Like Paul, he closely relates χάρισμα to χάρις.¹ Each χάρισμα is a concrete expression of χάρις. God's grace, however, assumes differentiated forms in the lives of Christians. The one divine grace is thus refracted into a variety of χαρίσματα.² The purpose for which God's grace comes to such diverse practical expression in the life of the community is service. Each χάρισμα is to be employed for the good of others in the Christian

¹ Cf. Rom. 12:6.

² The thought here is not the Hellenistic concept of divine χάριτες but a ποικίλη χάρις.

brotherhood. No gift is given for proud self-display but in order that its possessor may make his contribution to the common welfare of the group. God's grace is thus viewed in the life of each Christian as both gift and task.¹ The ultimate goal envisioned in the responsible exercise of the various gifts is the glorification of God in the corporate life of the community (v. 11).

It has been suggested that since the injunction to "practice hospitality ungrudgingly to one another" immediately precedes the statement that each has received a *χάρισμα*, that Peter, therefore, regarded money, the means whereby hospitality could be practiced, as a *χάρισμα*.² If this is correct, then the apostle is encouraging Christians neither to hoard money nor to spend it selfishly but to employ it in the interest of others. It is doubtful, however, whether such a close connection between verses 9 and 10 should be pressed. Probably v. 10 is a fresh general exhortation which then finds specific illustration in v. 11 in the *χαρίσματα* of utterance and service.

When this passage is compared with I Cor. 12:4ff. or Rom. 12:6ff., it is readily seen that a less detailed description of the church's charismatic life is given here. But we may be entitled to see in the phrases *εἴ τις λαλεῖ* and *εἴ τις διακονεῖ* a reference to the various types of utterance and service described specifically in the above passages.³

¹ Note the use of the figure of an *οἰκονόμος* (v. 10).

² E.g. Bigg, *ICC*, *ad. loco.*; cf. Hunter, *IB*, XII, *ad. loco.*

³ So Hart, *EGT*, V, *ad. loco.*, who would see in *λαλεῖ* a reference to the various types of speaking found in I Cor. 12:8, 10; 14:6, 26 and in *διακονεῖ* a reference to forms of service other than speaking, although with special reference to almsgiving, hospitality, etc. Cf. Wand, *WC*, *ad. loco.* Selwyn, *I Peter*, *ad. loco.*

F. Grau has recently argued that the concept of *χάρισμα* in this passage is less restricted in its usage than is the case of Paul's letters.¹ He rightly maintains that, although Paul at times tends to widen the reference of *χάρισμα*, he nevertheless does not regard every Christian action as a *χάρισμα* but only those which serve to build up the Christian community. In this passage, however, Grau regards the term as reaching out to embrace every potentiality which is given to the Christian in the fellowship of love and service. It includes not only all services which correspond to the demands of love but the concept is so inclusive that even the distinction between the *χαρίσματα* and "the fruit of the Spirit" which is carefully preserved by Paul is here obliterated. It is difficult, however, to feel that there is sufficient evidence to press this conclusion. Although the context does emphasize the general Christian duty of love for one another and envisions the glorification of God through the corporate life of the community, the terminology of v. 11 resembles that found in such passages as I Cor. 12:4ff. and Rom. 12:6ff. and would seem to refer to the same type of phenomena.² Moreover, several of the distinctive features of Paul's use of *χάρισμα* are present here. (1) The term describes a service-ability rather than an attribute of Christian character. (2) It is a "given" ability and not just a natural gift. (3) It is focused upon the building up of the community. Each gift is to be employed "for one another." The one who speaks "should reckon himself to be charged not with his own opinions but the utterances of God."³ The intent of such utterance presumably is the edification of

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 92f., 94.

² Cf. F. W. Beare, *I Peter*, pp. 160f.

³ Selwyn, *I Peter*, *ad. loco.*; cf. Hauck, *NTD*, X, *ad. loco.*; but see Bigg, *ICC*, *ad. loco.*, for another interpretation.

the Christian community. Likewise, the service rendered must also be in humble dependence upon the strength which God supplies. There is implicit here the thought that God has called various Christians to particular services for the sake of the community and with the call He supplies the strength to fulfill it. There is no room, therefore, for any self-conceit.

The contribution of this passage to our study may now be summarized as follows:

(1) *Χάρισμα* is closely related to *χάρις* as a concretion of grace. The Pauline association of *χάρισμα* with the Spirit, however, is not explicitly made.

(2) The term is clearly associated with the thought of service to others in the Christian community.

(3) There is both a distribution of and a variety among the *χαρίσματα*. Mention is made, however, of only two general types of gifts, namely, charismatic speech and charismatic service.

III. THE USAGE OF *ΧΑΡΙΣΜΑ* IN THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

The use of *χάρισμα* in the Apostolic Fathers need not detain us long. The occurrences of the word are neither numerous nor of great significance for the understanding of the New Testament concept. Brief attention will be given to the specific passages in which the term is found and then some general observations on its usage in this literature will follow.

There is only one instance of its use in the Didache (1:15): "Give to every one that asks thee, and do not refuse, for the Father's will is that we give to all from the gifts (*χαρισμάτων*) we have received."¹

¹ The English translations unless otherwise indicated are those of Lake, The Apostolic Fathers, Loeb Classical Library, 2 vols.

The context clearly indicates that the *χαρίσματα* referred to in this passage are material gifts which God gives to His children and which, in turn, they are to share with others. The use of *χάρισμα* here is similar to that which was observed in the writings of Philo. The New Testament knows of the *χάρισμα* of *ὁ μεταδιδούς* (Rom. 12:8) but nowhere are material gifts as such referred to as *χαρίσματα*. Interestingly enough, the Didache is familiar with prophets and prophecy which in the New Testament are regarded as *χαρίσματα* but nowhere is this term employed in connection with this phenomena.

The word occurs only once also in I Clement (38:1) in a context which is strongly reminiscent of I Cor. 12.¹ The author's thought moves in the framework of the body-metaphor and stresses the interdependence of the members of the Christian community. Healthy corporate life demands both diversity and mutuality. "Let, therefore, our whole body," he writes, "be preserved in Christ Jesus, and let each be subject to his neighbor, according to the position (*χαρίσματι*) granted to him."² This injunction then is practically illuminated by a series of detailed instruction urging mutuality in the community.³

On the surface *χάρισμα* as used in this passage bears a certain resemblance to Paul's usage, notably in I Cor. 12. Each Christian has been given a *χάρισμα* from God and there is variety in the distribution. Each is to take his place in the community in conformity to the position

¹ Cf. A. E. Barnett, Paul Becomes a Literary Influence, p. 97.

² *Καθὼς ἐτίθη ἐν τῷ χάρισματι αὐτοῦ* (38:1b). Cf. C. C. Richardson, Early Christian Fathers, The Library of Christian Classics, I, ad. loco., who translates: "according to his special gifts."

³ Cf. 38:2ff.

or gift which has been granted to him. More careful examination, however, reveals an absence in Clement's use of *χάρισμα* of the rich meaning which the term carries in Paul. The specific reference of *χάρισμα* in the hands of Clement is difficult to determine. It appears to mean little more than the station which has been divinely assigned to one in life. While each is to function in his role in relation to his neighbor, the term does not seem to carry the dynamic sense of specific service-abilities which are given for the purpose of building up the Christian community. The *χαρίσματα* seem to consist in the state of being strong, weak, rich, poor, wise, humble, continent, and the like. These *χαρίσματα* furthermore, are not brought into any explicit relation with the Spirit. They appear rather to approximate the normal gifts of nature, although it should not be forgotten that Clement is speaking about the community "in Christ Jesus" (38:1). At best his use is a very pale reflection of the rich Pauline connotation of the term.

The word is found in three passages in the epistles of Ignatius. In Eph. 17:2 it designates the knowledge of God which is embodied in Jesus Christ and which issues in immortality. It is contrasted with "the doctrine of the Prince of this world" by which he leads men away from the life which is set before them (17:1). The knowledge of God in question is not abstract theoretical knowledge but "is coextensive with Jesus Christ."¹ Thus *χάρισμα* is brought into close relation with the soteriological action of God in Jesus Christ. For this reason to ignore the gift (*χάρισμα*) which the Lord has sent is to perish in our folly. This use of *χάρισμα* has close affinities with a similar Pauline use in

¹ Lightfoot, Apostolic Fathers, Pt. II, Vol. II, ad. loco.



Rom. 5:15f. and 6:23, although less strikingly developed.

In the introduction to his letter to the Smyrnaeans, Ignatius twice employs χάρισμα. He addresses them as "the church of God . . . which has obtained mercy in every gift (χάρισματι), and is filled with faith and love, and comes behind in no gift (χάρισματος), most worthy of God, and gifted with holiness." The language recalls Pauline phraseology¹ but when an attempt is made to identify the χάρισματα, they appear to consist in the religious and ethical gifts of faith, love, and holiness rather than service-abilities.

The final reference is in his letter to Polycarp who was bishop of the church of Smyrna. Ignatius desires for his fellow-bishop that "he may lack nothing and abound in every gift (χάρισματος)."² It is not entirely clear from the context what these gifts were. It is possible that they were such Christian graces as faith, love, and holiness.³ The emphasis in the context, however, is upon Polycarp's role as bishop in the church. Thus, whatever the precise character of the gifts in view, they are seen in relation to the exercise of his duties as bishop.⁴ There is nothing in the context to suggest that these gifts were the unusual phenomena of I Cor. 12, such as the ability to heal or glossolalia. It is probable that more normal rational endowments are in view. These, of course, Paul also regarded as χάρισματα of the Spirit. But it should be observed that whereas Paul saw these normal service-abilities as

¹ I Cor. 1:7.

² Poly. 2:2.

³ The meaning given to χάρισματα in Smyr. Introd.

⁴ Chapters I-V are of the nature of admonitions to Polycarp as a bishop in the church.

endowments bestowed by the Spirit, Ignatius makes no such association.¹

The *χαρίσματα* are gifts which are regarded as appropriate to and desirable for holding office in the Christian community.²

In summary the following general observations on the use of
in this literature would seem to be warranted:

(1) The relatively few occurrences of the term would suggest that it was not a regulative concept in the thought and life of the church in this era.

(2) Except for two occurrences in Ignatius (Eph. 17:2 and Poly. 2:2), the term appears to be used in a general sense not represented in the New Testament. Neither of these exceptions, however, represent the distinctive Pauline conception.

(3) Nowhere is the term explicitly related to the Spirit or to the building up of the Christian community. The latter relation, however, may be implied by the context of Poly. 2:2.

(4) The relation of *χάρisma* to office continues a connection observed in the Pastorals.

(5) Although the term *χάρisma* survived, it is clear that the Apostolic Fathers did not understand the rich theological and practical meaning it had for Paul.

¹ In fact the Holy Spirit is referred to very infrequently by Ignatius. Cf. C. C. Richardson, The Christianity of Ignatius of Antioch, pp. 46f.

² Although this may be expected in an epistle addressed to a bishop, the point is supported by the absence of reference to a general community diffusion of *χαρίσματα* in the sense of service gifts in the other literature of this period.

PART II

THE THEOLOGY BEHIND THE CHARISMATIC LIFE IN THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH

INTRODUCTION

To the casual reader of the New Testament the widely diverse phenomena included under the caption of the *χαρίσματα* may appear as so many varied psychological or sociological manifestations. If they would be properly understood, some attention must be given to certain theological considerations which provide a necessary frame of reference for the study of the various gifts. The *χαρίσματα* have both a dynamic source and a specific field of operation. They spring from a common vital principle, the Spirit, and find expression within the life of the Christian community. The purpose of the first chapter in this section is to explore briefly those aspects of the New Testament concept of the Spirit in relation to the early church which will provide a proper perspective for the subsequent study of the gifts. The second chapter will then deal with certain general aspects of the New Testament understanding of *χάρισμα* with the hope of further illuminating and clarifying the concept before turning to a detailed description of the various individual gifts.

CHAPTER I

THE SPIRIT AND THE CHURCH

I. THE SPIRIT AND THE MESSIANIC AGE

The Spirit and the Messianic Age in prophecy. The Spirit which was poured out at Pentecost is described by the author of Acts as the promised Holy Spirit.¹ Similar phraseology is also employed by Paul.² The early church's experience of the Spirit, therefore, is explicitly linked with a hope that is deeply rooted in the Old Testament.

The expectation of a future outpouring of the Spirit was an ingredient of Israel's eschatological faith. The close association of the Spirit with the hope of a glorious future was a corollary of the prophetic analysis of Israel's predicament and the Divine answer to it. As the history of the nation began to draw toward its tragic close, the spiritual perception of such prophets as Jeremiah clearly diagnosed the trouble as inward and spiritual. "The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately corrupt" (Jer. 17:9). If there is to be a new day for man, there must be a new heart within him. Thus Jeremiah is led to envision the time when God would make "a new covenant" with His people (Jer. 31:31ff.) which would provide not so much for a new law as for "a new, inward motivation and power for fulfilling the law already known."³

Such a renewal of human nature must be the work of God and Jeremiah clearly indicates that God will take the initiative. But how will God

¹ E.g. Acts 2:33: *τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος*; cf. Acts 1:4; Lk. 24:49.

² E.g. Gal. 3:14; Eph. 1:13.

³ J. P. Hyatt, *IB*, V, *ad. loco.*

thus deal with the perversity of the human heart? At this point, Jeremiah's insight is supplemented by Ezekiel and II Isaiah, both of whom speak of the role of the Spirit in the renewal of the nation. Whereas in the past only certain chosen individuals were possessed by the Spirit, these prophets contemplate a diffusion in which the entire community would share.¹ The Spirit thus poured out would bring inward transformation and new spiritual vigor to the nation.² The Spirit, therefore, is not a superfluous adjunct to the prophetic hope of the future; it is of the very essence of it. "It may be," writes A. G. Hebert concerning the work of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, "that the deepest point which is touched in the delineation of the Messianic Hope in the Old Testament is the promise of a new heart and a new spirit in Israel itself by the coming of the Spirit of Yahweh."³

The hope of the eschatological outpouring of the Spirit is found also in the well-known passage, Joel 2:28-32.⁴ The Spirit in that day will be bestowed liberally⁵ and upon all Israelites irrespective of age or sex. The Spirit is here associated with the premonitions of the coming of "the great and terrible day of the Lord" rather than with the new age

¹ Ezek. 11:19; 36:26; Isa. 44:3; 59:21; vid. further TWNT, VI, p. 368.

² Ezek. 36:25-38; 37:11-14.

³ The Throne of David, p. 68; he further observes that these prophets "think not merely of what God will do for His People, but of the change He will bring to pass in them." For a reaffirmation of the relation between inward renewal and the age of redemption, see Jub. 1:21-25. Cf. also Fison, The Christian Hope, p. 171: "The future [for Ezek.] holds the certainty of renewal and regeneration but the realization of the eschatological prospect depends upon its pneumatological secret."

⁴ Hebrew text: chap. 3:1-5; cf. Acts 2:16ff.

⁵ The imagery of "pouring out" suggests abundance (cf. v. 23); Bewer, ICC, ad. loco.

itself.¹ When that terrible day draws near, great prophetic excitement will lay hold upon men and ominous portents will be abroad in nature. This does not mean, however, that the Spirit will have no place within the new era itself, although this is not suggested by the passage.

Judaism did not lose sight of this hope. The future bestowal of the Spirit was brought in Jewish thought into relation with the Messiah who was regarded as the bearer of the Spirit in a pre-eminent sense.² The term Messiah as a terminus technicus, of course, does not occur in Old Testament literature.³ But the ideal king depicted there, who in due time was to become the pattern for the Messianic figure, is represented as endowed with the Spirit (Isa. 11:1ff.).⁴ When we pass from the Old Testament to the later Jewish writings, the role of the Messiah as the bearer of the Spirit clearly emerges.⁵ Enoch sees the Elect One standing before the Lord of Spirits,

And in him dwells the spirit of wisdom,
And the spirit which gives insight,

¹ Cf. Volz, Der Geist Gottes, pp. 91ff.

² This is only to be expected since "from the earliest times the Spirit was regarded as the necessary endowment of all great national leaders," E. F. Scott, The Spirit in the New Testament, p. 36.

³ The nearest approach to it is Dan. 9:25. This, however, should not be so read; cf. Rowley, The Rediscovery of the Old Testament, p. 266.

⁴ Lampe, op. cit., p. 30: "The king of Israel by virtue of his anointing with oil was supposed to receive the inward unction of the Spirit to endow him with the peculiar gifts needed by a just and wise monarch." The connection between anointing and Spirit-possession is suggested also by the metaphorical language of Isa. 61:1.

⁵ Cf. Sjöberg, TWNT, VI, p. 382: "Diese Vorstellung ist im Judentum lebendig."

And the spirit of understanding and of might,
And the spirit of those who have fallen asleep in
righteousness.¹

Similarly, in the Psalms of Solomon it is said of the anointed of the
Lord:

And (relying) upon his God, throughout his days he will not
stumble;
For God will make him mighty by means of (His) holy spirit,
And wise by means of the spirit of understanding, with strength
and righteousness.²

The gift of the Spirit is not for the Messiah alone but also for the
Messianic community.³ There are some indications that the Messiah may
have been regarded as the mediator of the Spirit in the community. This
may be the meaning of the well-known passage in the Zadokite Fragments:
"And through His Messiah He shall make them know His holy spirit."⁴
Similarly suggestive is the messianic reading of Isa. 52:11f. in the
complete Isaiah scroll from Qumran:

Just as many were astonished at thee, So have I anointed his
visage more than any man, and his form than the sons of men,

¹ I Enoch 49:3; cf. 62:2.

² 17:42 (37); cf. 18:8 (7).

³ Test. Levi, 18:11; Test. Jud., 24:3. For references to an es-
chatological outpouring of the Spirit in Rabbinic literature see Str.-B.,
II, pp. 134, 151f.; W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 216, is
of the opinion that many references to the Holy Spirit probably were ex-
cised from our Rabbinic sources due to the Christian emphasis on the
Spirit. "We cannot doubt," he says, "that the Rabbinic Judaism of the
first century would have regarded the Messianic Age or the Age to Come as
the Era of the Spirit." In the literature of the Qumran community a
"sprinkling" of the Spirit is associated with the End-time (DSD, 4:20f.;
cf. also 9:3ff.), although the Scrolls do not emphasize the Spirit as a
sign of the End; cf. W. D. Davies, "Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Flesh
and Spirit," The Scrolls and the New Testament, ed. by A. Stendahl,
pp. 173-177, 180.

⁴ 2:10. The reference, however, may be to Zadok; cf. Charles, op.
cit., II, ad. loco.; Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 264. For
another interpretation see Brownlee, "John the Baptist in the Light of
the Ancient Scrolls," The Scrolls and the New Testament, p. 144.

So shall he sprinkle many nations because of himself, and kings shall shut their mouths . . . ¹

In the messianic hymn embedded in the Testament of Levi the "new priest" whom the Lord will raise up will not only be endowed with "the Spirit of understanding and sanctification" but

. . . he shall open the gates of paradise
And shall remove the threatening sword against Adam.
And he shall give to the saints to eat from the tree of life,
And the spirit of holiness shall be on them.²

Attention may also be called to a haggadah on Gen. 1:2 where it is said that the Spirit of God will be manifested in the spirit of the Messiah, and will spread his wings and bestow his grace upon Israel.³ Furthermore, if the Messiah was expected to bestow the Spirit, it would be understandable that when Jesus spoke of the future outpouring of the Spirit in words recalling Ezek. 47:1ff. that some of his hearers should have said, "This is the Christ."⁴ There is also the prophetic word attributed to John the Baptist which may reflect Jewish expectations: "I have baptized you with water: but he will baptize you with the Holy Spirit."⁵ But, regardless of whether the foregoing evidence for the belief that the Messiah would dispense the Spirit in the future age is judged strong enough to establish

¹ Vid. Brownlee, *ibid.*, pp. 43f.

² 18:10f.; cf. Test. Jud. 24:2f., (aBS1 text). Cf. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums*, p. 394: "Es wird Aufgabe des Messias sein, den Geist auf alle Glaubigen auszugiesen."

³ Gen. Rab. 2, cited by Lampe, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

⁴ Jno. 7:37-41; cf. Lampe, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Mk. 1:8; cf. Matt. 3:11, Lk. 3:16. The original form of this logion is widely believed to have contained no reference to Spirit-baptism; cf. Taylor, *Mark*, ad. loco.; Barrett, *The Holy Spirit and the Gospel Tradition*, p. 125f.; but vid. Schniewind, *NTD*, I, pp. 14f.; Caird, *The Apostolic Age*, p. 50, n. 2.

it as a Jewish concept, there can be no doubt that a fresh outpouring of the Spirit was expected in the Messianic age.

The Spirit in the life and ministry of the Messiah. The relation of the Spirit to the Messiah which may be traced in the literature we have examined finds its fulfillment in the Gospel accounts of Jesus' life and ministry. Associated with the birth of Jesus is a series of references to the workings of the Spirit in a small group of devoutly religious folk.¹ The activity of the Spirit draws attention to the meaning of the career which was about to begin. God was present and working with redeeming purpose. Both Matthew and Luke stress the Spirit's creative role in the coming of the Messiah Himself to the stage of history.² He is a unique creation and as such is distinguished even from the Baptist who was filled with the Spirit from his mother's womb.

Jesus at His baptism was given a special endowment of the Spirit for His ministry. This may appear strange in view of the prominence of the Spirit in relation to His birth. It is clear, however, that we are expected to see in this baptismal anointing with the Spirit the decisive key to the understanding of His ministry.³ Luke affirms, accordingly, that Jesus began His ministry "in the power of the Spirit."⁴ The signi-

¹ Lk. 1:15, 41, 67; 2:25-27; cf. Lebreton, History of the Dogma of the Trinity, p. 254: "Around the cradle of Jesus the Spirit is poured forth abundantly."

² Matt. 1:18, 20; Lk. 1:35; cf. Swete, The Holy Spirit in the New Testament, p. 32, and especially Barrett, op. cit., pp. 17-24, who points out that this emphasis is in line with the Spirit's creative role in the Old Testament.

³ Hendry, The Holy Spirit in Christian Theology, pp. 18ff., observes that the emphasis in the Gospel accounts of Jesus' baptism is not so much on the descent of the Spirit as on the revelation of Jesus as the permanent bearer of the Spirit.

⁴ Lk. 4:14.

ficance of the Spirit in relation to His mission is further highlighted by the episode in the synagogue at Nazareth which constitutes something like a frontispiece in Luke's account of Jesus' ministry.¹ In this inaugural sermon Jesus "describes himself as the fulfillment of the expectation of a Spirit-possessed prophet inaugurating the age of redemption and blessedness."²

In view of the prominence given to the Spirit in relation to the birth of Jesus and the inauguration of His ministry, it is indeed surprising that little explicit reference is made to the Spirit in the account of His subsequent career.³ This is not a serious lack, however, if the orientation provided at the outset of His ministry is kept steadily in view. There can be no doubt that the Spirit was the presupposition of all His labours. "The Gospels do not stop to point out what is proclaimed aloud by the whole history."⁴ It is possible also that the Evangelists deliberately refused to emphasize the pneumatic element in Jesus' ministry for theological reasons. They did not want to obscure

¹ Lk. 4:16-30; cf. the location of this incident in Mk. (6:1-6).

² Lampe, "The Holy Spirit in the Writings of St. Luke," Studies in the Gospels, ed. by D. E. Nineham, p. 163.

³ The most important passage is Matt. 12:28 which brings the Spirit into relation with the exorcisms performed by Jesus. Luke (11:20) probably preserves the original text of Q (~~ἐν~~ ~~τῷ~~ ~~ὀνόματι~~ ~~τοῦ~~ ~~θεοῦ~~) which Matthew altered to ἐν πνεύματι θεοῦ; cf. T. W. Manson, The Teaching of Jesus, p. 82f. There is no real difference between the two expressions since both denote the active power of God (cf. Ezek. 3:14) and Matthew's rendering is a legitimate interpretation of the more primitive version. Cf. Barrett, op. cit., p. 63. Lk. 10:21 (cf. Matt. 11:25) describes an experience of spiritual ecstasy.

⁴ Swete, op. cit., p. 60; cf. p. 56 where he comments on Lk. 4:14 as follows: "St. Luke . . . evidently means his readers to understand that it covers the whole of the Lord's ministerial life." Evidence for the pneumatic element in Jesus' ministry is set out by Otto, The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man, Bk. IV.

the uniqueness of Jesus. In Him God Himself had encountered His community eschatologically. To have portrayed Jesus as a pneumatiker similar to the Old Testament prophets or the later "inspired" figures in Christian circles would have blunted the impression they wished to make. Their purpose "could be served only by precisely those traits which distinguished Jesus from his predecessors and followers."¹

It has been seen, however, that the Spirit was not to be the possession of the Messiah alone but also of the eschatological community. There is no indication in the Gospel accounts that Jesus during His ministry imparted the Spirit to His disciples. Indeed, it appears that Jesus spoke little to them about the Spirit.² It need not be doubted, however, that Jesus promised His disciples that they should receive the Spirit after His departure. Embedded in the Synoptic tradition is the promise of divine help in the hour when they will need to bear witness to their faith before hostile authorities.³ The present form of the Paraclete sayings in the Upper Room discourses of the Fourth Gospel may

¹ E. Schweizer, "The Spirit of Power," Interpretation, VI (1952), p. 264; cf. TWNT, VI, pp. 400f.

² For a summary of some important recent solutions which have been offered to account for the paucity of references to the Spirit in the teachings of Jesus see Barrett, op. cit., chap. 10. For a criticism of Barrett's position see I. W. Batdorf, "The Spirit of God in the Synoptic Gospels: An Historical Comparison and a Re-appraisal," (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, Princeton Theological Seminary, 1950).

³ The tradition is found in various forms: Mk. 13:11 (τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον); Lk. 12:11f. (τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, Q); Matt. 10:19f. (τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ πατρὸς ὁμῶν, a conflation of Mk. and Q); Lk. 21:15 (ἐγὼ σὺν ὁμῶν σθένος καὶ σοφία, probably from L). Both T. W. Manson, The Mission and Message of Jesus, p. 402, and Taylor, Mark, on Mk. 13:11, regard the reading "the Holy Spirit" as probably original, although the latter regards the promise as referring not to a universal outpouring of the Spirit but an endowment for a special situation, i.e. witness-bearing. Barrett, op. cit., pp. 130ff., rejects the reference to the Holy Spirit as due to later church influence.

owe something to the subsequent experience of the Spirit in the Christian community but it is difficult not to believe that they reflect some genuine teaching of Jesus concerning the Spirit given to the disciples at the close of His ministry.¹ Certainly the experience of the disciples in the weeks and months which followed the Resurrection and Pentecost and the interpretation which they as readily gave to it would seem to presuppose some preparation in the days preceding the Passion.²

The Spirit shared with the Messianic community. The promise of the Spirit which was given to the disciples before Jesus' death and reaffirmed after the Resurrection³ found its fulfillment in the Pentecostal effusion of the Spirit. The coming of the Spirit was convincing evidence that Jesus was indeed the Messiah and that the Messianic days had actually arrived.⁴ It is on the basis of the phenomenon of the outpoured Spirit that Peter appeals to his Jerusalem leaders in his sermon on the day of Pentecost: "Let all the house of Israel therefore know assuredly that God has made him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom you crucified" (Acts 2:36). Similarly, when the apostles were later brought before the Sanhedrin they

¹ Jno. 14:15-17, 26; 15:26; 16:7-11, 13f. V. Taylor, "The Spirit in the New Testament," The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit (Headingly Lectures), p. 65, speaks of these sayings as "inspired airs composed on the basis of original themes."

² Howard, Christianity According to St. John, p. 79; cf. Strachan, The Fourth Gospel, pp. 287f.; Gore, The Holy Spirit and the Church, p. 111; W. F. Lofthouse, "The Holy Spirit in the Fourth Gospel," JTS, I (1950), pp. 1-15 for another point of view.

³ Lk. 24:49; Acts 1:4, 8.

⁴ Cf. Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching, p. 26: "The kerygma in Acts lays emphasis upon the Holy Spirit in the church as the sign that the new age of fulfillment has begun." See also Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 217; Lampe, The Seal of the Spirit, p. 49.

pointed to the Holy Spirit as a witness with them to the fact that "God exalted him [Jesus] at his right hand as Leader and Saviour to give repentance to Israel and forgiveness of sins" (Acts 5:31f.).

The gift of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost was to the disciples. The Spirit that rested upon Jesus in the days of His flesh was now shared with the community of His followers. The early chapters of Acts vividly portray a community of believers which was assuredly aware that it possessed as a present reality the long-awaited blessing of the End-time.¹ No longer was the experience of the Spirit a hope; they lived daily under its realized power and blessing. Indeed, the possession of the Spirit was the distinguishing mark of the church. The nation Israel was marked off from all other peoples by racial and religious solidarity. Their distinctiveness was proclaimed by the rite of circumcision, ritual laws of "holiness," and devotion to the temple. They were the people of the covenant and the custodians of divine revelation. But how was the new Israel to be recognized? The Jewish-Christians outwardly were indistinguishable from their fellow-Israelites. They, too, were circumcised, observed the Law, and worshiped at the temple. To be sure, they believed in Jesus as the Messiah which would mark them off as a sect. But then there were various such sects. On the other hand, Gentile Christians bore none of these

¹ Goguel, The Birth of Christianity, pp. 95ff., has argued for the nonpneumatic character of the primitive Jerusalem church. Lohmeyer, Galilæa and Jerusalem, pp. 95ff., seeks to establish a similar thesis for the Christianity radiating from Galilee. Such attempts lack cogent demonstration. The position of Filson, The New Testament Against Its Environment, p. 72, would seem more nearly to represent the facts: "We have no evidence of a section of the church which did not know the gift of the Spirit." The case of Apollos and the Ephesian disciples might appear to be an exception (Acts 18:24-19:7). It is clear, however, that the experience of these persons is regarded as defective from the point of view of normative New Testament Christianity. Cf. W. Manson, Jesus the Messiah, pp. 17ff.; 227ff.

marks. How could they be recognized as belonging to the new Israel?

The answer is not difficult to find:

The community brought together by the disciples of Jesus was sustained by the conviction that it possessed the Spirit of God and in that possession it saw the peculiar feature which distinguished its members alike from the Greeks and from the Jews. This is a fact of fundamental importance for the entire subsequent history of Christianity.¹

Now it may be noted that it was precisely the experienced possession of the Holy Spirit which was appealed to by the early Christians when the problem arose of deciding who can legitimately claim membership in the church. When Peter spoke the word of God in the house of Cornelius and the Spirit fell on those who had gathered to hear the word, we are told:

And the believers from among the circumcised who came with Peter were amazed, because the gift of the Holy Spirit had been poured out even on the Gentiles. "For they heard them speaking in tongues and extolling God. Then Peter declared, 'Can any one forbid water for baptizing these people who have received the Holy Spirit just as we have?' (Acts 10:45-47)

Subsequently, when Peter went up to Jerusalem and was called to account by the circumcision party for fellowshipping with Gentiles, Peter recounted the leading of the Lord through the vision on the housetop and

¹ Schlatter, HDAC, I, p. 573. Cf. N. A. Dahl, Das Volk Gottes, p. 183: "Die Gewissheit den Geist zu haben und die Gewissheit das neue Gottesvolk zu sein, gehören eng zusammen, die Geist ist die Gabe Gottes an die endzeitliche Gemeinde." A detailed treatment of the Spirit as an experienced phenomenon in Judaism during the intertestament period and the first century A. D. cannot be given here. With the rise of Judaism the experience of the Spirit began to wane. Palestinian Judaism in the last centuries before Christ was generally poor in experiences of the Spirit. Rabbinic Judaism, contrary to the opinion of Volz, Der Geist Gottes, p. 115, shows no awareness that the 'age' of the Spirit had come, although there may have been individuals who were conscious of the Spirit as active in their lives. For a survey of the intertestament literature including Philo and Josephus, see Büchsel, op. cit., chaps. III, IV; cf. Bousset, op. cit., pp. 394-99; for Rabbinic literature see especially W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 208-16; cf. TWNT, VI, pp. 383f.; F. Büchsel, op. cit., chap. VI; for the Spirit in the DSS see Davies, "Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Flesh and Spirit," The Scrolls and the New Testament, pp. 171-182.

the arrival of the delegation from Cornelius. His defense, however, was climaxed by an appeal to the gift of the Holy Spirit which God granted to the Gentiles as he spoke.

If then God gave the same gift to them as he gave to us when we believed in the Lord Jesus Christ, who was I that I could withstand God? When they heard this, they were silenced, And they glorified God, saying, Then to the Gentiles also God has granted repentance with life. (Acts 11:17-18)

Later when the problem of the basis for the admission of Gentile Christians into the church was under discussion in Jerusalem, reference again was made to the significant gift of the Spirit to them apart from any legal obedience. Peter, speaking about his experience in the house of Cornelius said: "And God who knows the heart bore witness to them, giving them the Holy Spirit just as he did to us; and he made no distinction between us and them, but cleansed their hearts by faith" (Acts 15:8-9). Peter even suggested that to require legal obedience in the face of such clear evidence of divine acceptance of Gentiles on the basis of faith would be to "make trial of God" (v. 10). When Peter had finished his speech, Barnabas and Paul "related what signs and wonders God had done through them among the Gentiles" (v. 12). This evident witness of the Holy Spirit's working could not be gainsaid by the Jewish Christian leaders. Those were entitled to be recognized as members of the Christian fellowship who were obviously endowed with the Spirit.

It is from the point of view of the basic role of the Holy Spirit in establishing Christian status that we may understand the question which Paul put to the disciples he encountered in Ephesus: "Did you receive the Holy Spirit when you believed?" (Acts 19:2).¹ A similar as-

¹ Perhaps this was a regular interrogation used by Paul and other Christian missionaries as they encountered new groups of believers. Cf. T. W. Manson, "St. Paul in Ephesus," Bull. of the John Rylands Library, XXVI (1941), pp. 16-18; M. Barnett, The Living Flame, pp. 104-107.

sumption is implicit in his incisive question to the Galatians who were in danger of succumbing to the persuasive arguments of the Judaizers: "Let me ask you only this: Did you receive the Spirit by works of the law or by hearing with faith?" (Gal. 3:2).¹ The possession of the Spirit was a sine qua non of being a Christian; "Any one who does not have the Spirit of Christ does not belong to him" (Rom. 8:9b). Lesslie Newbigin, therefore, is fully in accord with the evidence of the New Testament when he says " . . . If we would answer the question 'Where is the Church?' we must ask 'Where is the Holy Spirit recognizably present with power?'"²

II. SIGNIFICANT MOTIFS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT CONCEPT OF THE SPIRIT

The Spirit as the communal possession of the church. According to Luke's account, the Spirit that was poured out on the day of Pentecost was given to the group of disciples who were assembled in Jerusalem (Acts 2:1, 4).³ Thus the first experience of the Spirit among the followers of Jesus was a communal experience. This constitutes one of the significant differences between the Old and the New Testament experience of the Spirit.⁴

¹ Streeter, The Primitive Church, p. 69, observes that Paul speaks "as if the reception of the Spirit was something as definite and observable as, for example, an attack of influenza."

² The Household of God, p. 95. Cf. also Prenter, Le Saint-Esprit et le revouveau de L'Eglise, p. 5.

³ Note the emphasis on πᾶσι in both of these verses. For a criticism of the view of Lake, BC, V, p. 110; cf. also IV, p. 17, that the Spirit was given originally only to the apostles see Flew, Jesus and His Church, pp. 106f.

⁴ Cf. Prenter, op. cit., pp. 30f.

In the Old Testament the Spirit was given to particular individuals in the nation for the performance of certain tasks but there was no awareness of a national experience of the Spirit.¹ Later prophetic thought, to be sure, entertained as we have seen the hope that in the future there would be a general outpouring of the Spirit. The fulfillment of this hope, however, was not realized by the nation as a whole but only by the spiritual remnant, the Messianic community. The Spirit that rested upon the Messiah during the days of His flesh was now shared by all who through faith were identified with Him. Indeed, Peter made it quite clear that the reception of the Spirit was only to be had by association with the Messianic community through repentance and baptism in the name of Jesus.² The Holy Spirit is henceforth a corporate rather than a purely individual possession. Apart from the corporate community there is no gift of the Spirit.

Paul also thought of the Spirit as a communal gift to the church. Although he sometimes speaks of the possession or experience of the Spirit in individualistic terms,³ this is not his most characteristic mode of thought. The emphasis is placed on the group as the bearer of the Spirit. Christians in their solidarity with one another constitute the temple in

¹ Attention may be called to the communal note in the Old Testament prophecies concerning the future outpouring of the Spirit, Ezek. 37:11-14; Isa. 44:3; Joel 2:28f.; a communal sense is also found in the Rabbinic doctrine of the Spirit. Here the reception of the Spirit is made dependent upon a worthy social environment; e.g. T. Sotah 13.3f.; J. Sotah 9.24b; B. Sotah 48b; B. Sanh. 11a; cf. W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 205ff. A similar emphasis is reflected in the DSS; cf. Davies, "Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls: 'Flesh and Spirit,'" The Scrolls and the New Testament, p. 177.

² Acts 2:38f.; cf. Gore, op. cit., p. 14.

³ E.g. Rom. 8:2, 9; 1 Cor. 2:4; 7:40.

which the Spirit of God dwells (I Cor. 3:16). Similarly, he writes to the Ephesians that both Jewish and Gentile Christians "have access in one Spirit to the Father" and together form a temple "for a dwelling place of God in the Spirit" (Eph. 2:18, 22). He reminds the Corinthians that "by one Spirit we were all baptized into one body--Jews or Greeks, slaves or free--and all were made to drink of one Spirit" (I Cor. 12:13). The unity which Christians experience is due to the fact that there is "one body and one Spirit" (Eph. 4:3f.) The Spirit is thus encountered in the church which is the sphere of His working. "We receive the Spirit not as individuals but as partakers of the Christ, as members of the One Man in whom the whole purpose of God has been fulfilled."¹

The importance of the conception of the Spirit as a corporate possession of the church for understanding the New Testament view of the *Χαρίσματα* is obvious. The Spirit is not the private nor the sole possession of a spiritually elite group who are able to speak in tongues or evidence other spectacular phenomena. Each Christian as a member of the body of Christ also shares in the possession of the Spirit. Indeed, if any man does not possess the Spirit, he cannot lay claim to being a Christian.² The way is thus prepared for understanding the Spirit's work in the more usual and ordinary abilities which mark the rank and file member of the church. Furthermore, to understand that one shares in the Spirit only as a member of the body of Christ is to shift the focus of interest from the individual to the group. There is no ground

¹ Thornton, The Common Life in the Body of Christ, p. 142; cf. Wedel, The Coming Great Church, pp. 60f.; Newbigin, The Reunion of the Church, pp. 99f.

² Cf. Rom. 8:9.

for pride in one's possession of the Spirit; neither is the Spirit given to promote private and personal ends.

The Spirit underlies the whole of the Christian life. In the Old Testament and in Judaism the possession of the Spirit was not regarded as necessary to salvation. The Spirit was a supplementary gift which was regarded as given to certain individuals for the achievement of particular objectives.¹ The work of the Spirit was seen largely in the abnormal and the unusual. It is only natural, therefore, that in the thought of the primitive church as reflected in the early chapters of Acts, the Spirit was associated with sudden illapses and unusual phenomena. It cannot be said, however, that the primitive church saw the work of the Spirit only in the bizarre and spectacular. It is inconceivable that the earliest Christians saw no relation between the Spirit and the new quality of life which characterized the Christian community.²

¹ Cf. Schweitzer, "The Spirit of Power," op. cit., pp. 267f. Later prophetic thought, however, did associate the Spirit with the future age of redemption; see supra pp. 55ff.

² The view, going back to Gunkel, Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes, pp. 8, 12, 20, 75, that Paul was the first to ethicize the Spirit, has been answered by Flew, op. cit., p. 108; cf. Büchsel, op. cit., pp. 251-3; Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 218-21; Fison, The Blessing of the Holy Spirit, pp. 116f. The explicit evidence of Rabbinic Judaism for the connection of the Spirit with the ethical life is slight; cf. Str.-B., II, p. 127. In light of the tendency to ethicize the Spirit in the later Old Testament literature, Davies (loc. cit., p. 219) regards it as "unthinkable that when the Rabbis described the Age to Come as an Era of the Spirit they would not think of the Spirit as bearing ethical fruit." The Spirit is associated with the ethical life in the DSS; cf. Davies, "Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Flesh and Spirit," The Scrolls and the New Testament, pp. 171f.; also p. 177; "The long-standing discussion as to whether Paul was the first to 'ethicize' the Spirit can now be regarded in the light of the Scrolls, as closed."

It is in Paul, however, that the relation of the Spirit to the total life of the Christian finds its fullest expression. For him the whole of the Christian life is set within the context of the Spirit's work.¹ It is not necessary to set out in detail the evidence which may be found in his letters; a brief summary must suffice. The Christian life begins with the reception of the Spirit (Gal. 3:2f.). The person who does not possess the Spirit cannot claim to be a Christian (Rom. 8:9b). The Spirit unites men with the body of Christ (I Cor. 12:13) and creates true community among Christians (II Cor. 13:13; Eph. 4:38). The Spirit brings reality into the believer's filial relation to God (Gal. 4:6, Rom. 8:15f.) and enables him to understand the mind and purposes of God toward us (I Cor. 2:9ff.). Through the Spirit, Christ dwells in the Christian's heart (Eph. 3:16f.) and he has access to God (Eph. 2:18f.). The Spirit is associated with the believer's prayer life (Rom. 8:26f.) and worship (Phil. 3:3).² Christian character is the fruit of the indwelling Spirit (Gal. 5:22f.). The Spirit is related to Christian joy (Rom. 14:17) and power (Rom. 15:13, 19). The secret of success in the warfare against sin is the Spirit (Eph. 6:17; Rom. 8:2). The Spirit is both the standard and dynamic of Christian conduct (Gal. 5:16, 25) and is closely associated with Christian witnessing (I Cor. 2:4; I Thess. 1:5f.). The Spirit bestows special abilities for service in the work of the church (I Cor. 12:4-11). The Christian's hope of ultimate immortality is in the

¹ Cf. H. W. Robinson, The Christian Experience of the Holy Spirit, p. 15: "The whole life of the Christian, normal and abnormal, is brought within the sphere of the Holy Spirit;" Cf. also Büchsel, op. cit., p. 446; Hunter, Interpreting Paul's Gospel, p. 108.

² Adopting the well-attested reading, οἱ πνεύματι θεοῦ λατρεύοντες; cf. Lohmeyer, MK, ad. loc.

possession of the Spirit of Him who raised Christ from the dead (Rom. 8:11). Thus, from beginning to end the Christian life lies within the sphere of the Spirit's work. For Paul the Spirit is the cause "not only of religious experiences, but of religious experience"¹ in its fulness.

The Spirit's all-embracing relation to the Christian life has an important bearing upon the New Testament concept of *κάρισμα*. Unlike the Corinthians, Paul refused to find the manifestations of the Spirit only in the unusual phenomena of glossolalia or miracle-working. Although less spectacular than these, ordinary abilities, such as helps, administration, showing mercy and the like, are just as truly the product of the Spirit's work in the Christian community. The way is thus prepared for bringing new dimensions into the concept of spiritual gifts.

The Spirit closely associated with Christ. "In the New Testament . . . it is broadly true to say that there is no teaching about the Spirit of God except in direct connection with the life and work of the Messiah Jesus."² The relation of the Spirit to the Messiah in the Old Testament in Jewish thought, and historically in the ministry of Jesus, has already been noted. It now remains to point up this relationship in the thought and experience of the early church and to show its relevance for our study.

¹ Wood, The Spirit of God in Biblical Literature, pp. 268f.; cf. Schlatter, HDAC, I, p. 575b: "The Spirit endows man with no mere isolated gifts, but creates him anew"; also Baillie, God Was in Christ, p. 154.

² Quick, Doctrines of the Creed, pp. 276f.; cf. Filson, Jesus Christ the Risen Lord, p. 166: "The New Testament view of the Spirit is Christ-centered."

The Spirit which was poured out at Pentecost was regarded by the primitive church as the gift of the risen and exalted Christ (Acts 2:33). The Spirit which once dwelt in Him in unmeasured fullness (Jno. 3:34; cf. Acts 10:38) He now dispensed to men. To be sure, elsewhere in Acts the Spirit is also spoken of as the gift of God (Acts 5:32; 8:19; 11:17; 15:8) but even in these cases, the bestowal of the Spirit is predicated on the basis of the historical work of Christ. The gift of the Spirit, therefore, is Christologically conditioned (cf. Acts 2:38).¹

The Spirit, however, is not only the gift of the glorified Christ but remains subservient to Him. The function of the Spirit is cast primarily in the role of a witness to Christ.² Interestingly enough, the only miracle for which an explanation is offered in the early chapters of Acts is ascribed not, as one might expect, to the Spirit but is associated with the living Christ (Acts 3:16; 4:10). If the dispensation of the Spirit follows the historical ministry of Jesus, it is never regarded as superseding either the person or the work of Christ.³

The association of the Spirit with Christ which is evident in the early chapters of Acts is also emphasized elsewhere in the New Testament. The Spirit is designated as "the Spirit of Christ" (Rom. 8:9; I Pet. 1:11); "the Spirit of the Lord" (II Cor. 3:17); "the Spirit of his son" (Gal. 4:6);

¹ Cf. Acts 19:1-7. The reason these disciples had not received the Spirit was because they knew only the baptism of John. Reception of the Spirit presupposes confession of Jesus as the Messiah and baptism in His name; cf. W. Manson, Jesus the Messiah, p. 19.

² This point is stressed by Albert Winn, "Pneuma and Kerygma," (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia, 1956), chap. I.

³ Cf. Hendry, op. cit., pp. 20ff.

"the Spirit of Jesus" (Acts 16:7) and "the Spirit of Jesus Christ" (Phil. 1:19). Paul reminds the Galatians that it is only "in Christ Jesus" that Gentiles may receive the promised Spirit (Gal. 3:14). The renewal of life which Christians experience is possible only because the Spirit has been "poured out upon us richly through Jesus Christ" (Tit. 3:6f.). The Spirit does not function autonomously but only in relation to Christ, bearing witness to and illuminating the riches of God's revelation in Him (Jno. 14:26; 15:26; 16:13ff.). So closely does Paul relate the Spirit to Christ in such a passage as II Cor. 3:17 that some scholars think he identified the two.¹ It is more likely, however, that Büchsel has correctly represented Paul's thought when he speaks of the relationship as one of "dynamischen Identität."² Paul is not thinking in metaphysical or ontological categories but rather in experiential terms. It is impossible in experience to distinguish the presence and work of the Spirit in the heart from that of the spiritual Christ.³

The close association of the Spirit with Christ, although always in a subordinate role, is of great significance in understanding the work of the Spirit in the life of the church. As James Denney put it, the Spirit is "not a pure spontaneity: it is always historically prompted

¹ For an extensive list of scholars who support and those who reject the identification see D. R. Griffiths, "The Lord Is the Spirit," ET, LV (1943), pp. 81-83; Cf. also Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 196, n. 1; TWNT, VI, pp. 415f.

² Op. cit., p. 409; cf. also Wood, op. cit., p. 231; Filson, Jesus Christ the Risen Lord, p. 52; "The Risen Christ and the Holy Spirit are neither separable nor completely identifiable."

³ For a collection of the New Testament evidence see Deissmann, St. Paul, pp. 138f. For an attempt to draw a distinction see Thornton, The Incarnate Lord, pp. 322-325.

and historically controlled."¹ If it was the task of the Spirit to interpret Christ to the church, it was no less the life of Christ from beginning to end which enabled the church to understand what the Spirit is or should be. Thus when Paul speaks of the Spirit as "the Spirit of Christ" or "the Spirit of the Lord" he is not using empty titles. He is suggesting that his conception of the nature of the Spirit arose from his concept of the nature of Christ.² The conviction that the Spirit is subservient to Christ provided the church with a norm to the judgment of which all alleged Spirit activities could be brought. It was the strong spiritual and ethical influence of the character and life of Christ which led the church to see the deepest work of the Spirit in the development of Christ-like character. Or to put it conversely: "The life of Jesus Christ made it impossible afterwards for any true Christian to find in the ecstatic or the abnormal the hallmark of the spirit."³

The Spirit related to the Messianic mission of the church. Already in the Old Testament the Spirit's relation to the heilsgeschichte purpose of God may be discerned. I. F. Wood writing about the pre-exilic literature says,

. . . it is an interesting fact that in our literary sources the Spirit is never used as a cause except of those things which have to do with the affairs of the people of Israel. The personal experiences of the private Hebrew are not ascribed to the Spirit of

¹ HDCG, I, p. 743b. Cf. R. Seeberg, Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte, I, p. 65, who comments on this relationship as follows: "Der Enthusiasmus ist an sich revolutionär, aber dieser Enthusiasmus war gefesselt an ein Besonderes und Gegebenes." C. A. A. Scott, Christianity According to St. Paul, pp. 143f., unduly exaggerates the difference between Acts and Paul in regard to the way in which the Spirit is related to Christ.

² Büchsel, op. cit., p. 402.

³ Fison, The Christian Hope, p. 168.

God, but only those which bear directly or indirectly, for good or ill, upon the progress of national matters, or, at least, of those whose results bear in some obvious way upon the life of considerable portions of the community.¹

Perhaps Wood has overstated the case,² but that such a relationship existed is clearly evident. Men were given the Spirit not merely for private or selfish ends but for leadership in the life of the Hebrew community. This is illustrated in the lives of such Judges as Othniel (Jud. 3:10), Gideon (Jud. 6:34), Jephthah (Jud. 11:29) and Samson (Jud. 13:25, 14:19; 15:14). Joshua was full of the spirit of wisdom (Num. 27:18; Deut. 34:9) for his task of leadership in the nation. Joseph was recognized as having the Spirit of God in him by his ability to interpret Pharaoh's dream and for this reason was made ruler in Egypt and eventually was able to preserve the Hebrew community in a time of great need (Gen. 41:38). Bezalel was endowed with the Spirit for constructing the tabernacle (Ex. 31:3; 35:31ff.). The elders who were associated with Moses in the leadership of the nation were endowed with the Spirit (Num. 11:25). Saul (I Sam. 10:10; 11:6) and David (I Sam. 16:13) were given the Spirit for their kingship and the ideal king of the future would have the Spirit of the Lord upon him (Isa. 11:2). The prophets were endowed with the Spirit for their ministry to the community (I Kings 22:24; Isa. 61:1; Ezek. 11:5). The work of the Spirit thus was set in the context of God's purpose which was being wrought out through the nation Israel.

A similar association of the Spirit with the heilsgeschichtliche purpose of God may be discerned in the early church. The Spirit which

¹ Op. cit., p. 9; cf. pp. 9-14; pp. 16-20. See also F. Grau, op. cit., pp. 127f.

² Cf. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 203; also E. F. Scott, The Spirit in the New Testament, p. 26; Gunkel, op. cit., pp. 15f.

endowed the Messiah for His ministry was bestowed upon the church in order that it might carry forward His mission in the world after His departure. The work of the Spirit in the early church, therefore, was not erratic and haphazard but directed to definite objectives. The Spirit was given that the Christian community might bear effective witness to the Messiah (Acts 1:8). Any attempt to prostitute the Spirit's power for personal and selfish ends met with severe rebuke (Acts 8:18ff.). The Spirit led the church in its missionary outreach directing Philip to leave his prosperous work in Samaria to meet the lone eunuch in the desert (Acts 8:20, 29, 30). Similarly, the Spirit urged Peter to respond to the request of the deputation from Cornelius (Acts 10:19ff.) and it convinced him and the church at Jerusalem that God had granted to the Gentiles repentance unto life (Acts 10:44ff.; 11:1-18). The Spirit foretelling through Agabus the coming of a famine enabled the church at Antioch to minister to the physical needs of the church in Jerusalem (Acts 11:27ff.). The Spirit was active in the selection and commissioning of Barnabas and Saul at Antioch for their missionary labors (Acts 13:2-4). The role of the Spirit in disposing of the problem confronting the church at the Jerusalem conference was not a minor one (Acts 15:8, 28). The route of Paul and Silas as they pursued their missionary vocation was directed by the Spirit (Acts 16:6f.). The Spirit commissioned the Ephesian elders as leaders in the church at Ephesus (Acts 20:28). Paul's steps were directed by the Spirit to Jerusalem even though he was assured that difficulties awaited him (Acts 20:22f.). Reviewing the evidence of Acts the conclusion of James Denney seems to describe accurately the role of the Spirit in relation to the church:

The Spirit's directions are not about indifferent things. There is nothing of the pagan oracle which deals with any question proposed to it; the Spirit gives direction only in the concerns of the Kingdom of the Messiah.¹

Similarly, in the epistles and the Apocalypse the Spirit is seen to be active in relation to the purposes of God for the church.² Not only is the Spirit related to the development of Christian character and the promotion of Christian fellowship but the Spirit equips the church with a variety of gifts for the building up of her own inner life (I Cor. 12:4-11). The Spirit calls men to service (I Tim. 1:18), warns against destructive influences (I Tim. 4:1) and continues to bear testimony to Jesus Christ (Rev. 19:10).

The intimate relationship of the Spirit with the advancement of the purposes of God as embodied in the church enables us to understand Paul's emphasis on the use of the gifts for the edification of the Christian community. The *Xapísματα* are not to be construed as constituting grounds for personal eminence or as means for the achievement of sundry goals. They are set within the context of the heilsgeschichtliche purpose of God and are designed to carry forward the redemptive mission of Christ in the Christian community.

¹ HDCC, I, 737b; cf. Schlatter, HDAC, I, 574a: "... The Spirit is always associated with the task imposed upon the church." Cf. Gunkel, op. cit., p. 34.

² It may be noted that the cosmic functions assigned to the Spirit in the Old Testament (e.g. Gen. 1:2; Job 26:13; Psa. 33:6; 104:30) are associated with Son in the New (e.g. I Cor. 8:6; Col. 1:15ff.). Cf. Rees, The Holy Spirit, pp. 84f.; Humphries, The Holy Spirit in Faith and Experience, pp. 120ff.; Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 187ff.

III. THE SPIRIT AND DOMINANT FEATURES IN THE LIFE OF THE EARLY CHURCH

The Spirit and enthusiasm. The coming of the Holy Spirit enables us to understand the high tide of enthusiasm which ran through the length and breadth of primitive Christianity. The gift of the Spirit was initially accompanied by a fresh outbreak of new life and enthusiasm. J. V. Bartlet, writing about primitive Christianity, says: "The specific differentia of the Christian church was and must remain the inspired quality of its life. That life sprang originally from inward consciousness of God as directly active in it as Spirit."¹ The evidence is not difficult to gather. Pentecost witnessed the phenomenon of glossolalia. Although there is no indication that this sort of abnormal experience was part of the daily life of the primitive Jewish church, yet the note of enthusiasm is heard repeatedly in the early chapters of Acts. They were filled with "a conquering new-born joy."² Their gladness of heart found expression in praise to God, the source of their new life (Acts 2:47). Even persecution could not extinguish but only added to the joy they knew in their souls (Acts 5:41). As the gospel was shared with others, they too entered into the joy which the original disciples had known (Acts 8:8, 19; 13:48, 52) and indeed added to their joy (Acts 11:18, 23). Associated with their experience of new-found joy was a sense of freedom and boldness in witnessing to their fellowmen even in the face of persecution (Acts 4:13, 29, 31). Their testimony was given "with great power" (Acts 4:33). It is understandable that such an inspired quality of life should be contagious and would attract many to the Christian community.

¹ Bartlet, Church-Life and Church-Order, p. 10, n. 1.

² C. A. A. Scott, The Fellowship of the Spirit, p. 11; cf. Acts 2:46.

The book of Acts, however, does not stand alone in its witness to the joyous enthusiasm of the early church. The believers at Thessalonica "received the word . . . with joy" (I Thess. 1:6),¹ and the life of the Macedonian church was characterized by an "abundance of joy" (II Cor. 8:1). The experience of the Christians scattered in the various provinces of Asia Minor to whom the first epistle of Peter is addressed is described as one of "unutterable and exalted joy" (I Pet. 1:8).² Paul associates joy with life in the Kingdom of God (Rom. 14:17). The inspiration and enthusiasm of apostolic Christianity cannot be missed in such passages as Eph. 5:19: "addressing one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody to the Lord with all your heart"; or in the epistle to the Philippians where the words "joy" and "rejoice" occur no less than sixteen times; and, last but not least, the intimate picture provided by I Cor. 12, 14 of the Corinthian church at worship. In the face of this brief survey of data the conclusion of J. Weiss is not without point:

Unless one can understand this constant mood of victorious, jubilant happiness and confidence, he simply will not understand primitive Christianity. This is the future that marked it off completely from Judaism.³

How shall this quality of holy joy and high enthusiasm which marked the life of the early church be explained? Certainly its roots are not to be found in any complex of mere social, economic, cultural and political factors. Neither is it to be accounted for by reference to tradition-

¹ Similarly, the believers at Antioch in Pisidia (Acts 13:48) and in a city of Samaria (Acts 8:8).

² Cf. Beare's comment, I Peter, ad. loco.: "The words are not to be taken as mere high-sounding hyperbole."

³ The History of Primitive Christianity, p. 41.

al Jewish religious life. The records of early Christianity make it unmistakably clear that its source is to be found in the Spirit which had been poured out upon the community.¹ This is Peter's explanation of the strange inspiration at Pentecost (Acts 2:15ff.). It would seem to be the intention of the author of Acts that the entire life of the church as portrayed in his document should be seen through the window of the Pentecostal effusion of the Spirit even where the subsequent connections of the Spirit with the enthusiasm of the church's life may not explicitly be made.

Paul no less than Luke finds the key to the joyous life of the Christian in the presence of the Spirit. Joy is part of the fruit of the Spirit (Gal. 5:22). The Spirit is both the inspiration of it (I Thess. 1:16) and the sphere in which it is to be located (Rom. 14:7). The Holy Spirit was much more than an abstract theological conception. The Spirit was a "felt" reality;² life touched by the Spirit was constituted afresh on a wholly new basis. The Spirit belongs to the eschatological order. It is the "first fruit" of our ultimate inheritance (Eph. 1:14). The joy and enthusiasm, therefore, which marked the early church were eschatologically conditioned.³ The early Christians were living in

¹ Cf. Filson, Jesus Christ the Risen Lord, p. 166: "It is noteworthy how often joy is mentioned when the context deals with the work or presence of the Spirit."

² J. Knox, The Early Church and the Coming Great Church, pp. 57f. Cf. also E. F. Scott, The Spirit in the New Testament, p. 61, who strongly emphasizes the fact that early Christian belief in the Spirit was "the expression of a fact."

³ Cf. R. G. Smith, TWB, p. 117: ". . . Joy in the Bible appears consistently as an eschatological reality which is proleptically, and partially, present in human life as an anticipation of the Kingdom of God." Cf. also Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, I, p. 339.

the "overlap" of the ages.¹ In the words of J. Weiss they "felt themselves to be witnesses and participants in the mighty world drama, which was moving on toward its climax before their very eyes."²

In such an atmosphere of vivid feeling and warm enthusiasm it is not difficult to understand the occurrence of some of the unusual psychological and physical phenomena which marked the charismatic life of the apostolic church. Indeed, it would be strange if such had not been the case. The rapturous heart can be expected to give birth to inspired utterances and to unusual deeds.

The Spirit and power. Throughout the Bible the Spirit of God stands over against flesh as the principle of supernatural power in human experience. The antithesis between flesh as the symbol of human weakness and Spirit as the expression of divine power is strikingly pointed up in the well-known words of Isaiah: "The Egyptians are men and not God: and their horses are flesh and not spirit" (31:3a). The Spirit is God present and active in His world and His presence and activity are characterized by power.³ In the New Testament the Spirit is frequently associated with power. "Indeed, anyone who wishes to know the New Testament connotation of 'Spirit' must use his concordance also for the term 'power', which is its chief content."⁴ The conception of Jesus is attributed by Luke to the coming of the "Holy Spirit" upon Mary and "the power of the

¹ Cf. I Cor. 10:11 and Thornton's translation of the passage in The Common Life in the Body of Christ, p. 334, n. 1.

² The History of Primitive Christianity, p. 35.

³ Cf. Snaith, The Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament, chap. VII; cf. also Davidson, The Theology of the Old Testament, pp. 127f.

⁴ H. W. Robinson, op. cit., p. 128.

"Most High" overshadowing her (Lk. 1:35). Following His baptism and temptation Jesus returned "in the power of the Spirit" to begin His ministry in Galilee (Lk. 4:14). The whole of His subsequent ministry was discharged under the power of the Spirit's anointing (cf. Acts 10:38).¹

Jesus promised power to His disciples with the coming of the Spirit upon them (Luke 24:49; Acts 1:8). It is precisely the note of power which characterizes the life of the primitive church as described in the early chapters of Acts. "From that day [Pentecost] forward," says Swete, "a new strength, which was not their own marked all the sayings and deeds of the Apostolic Church."² The Spirit energized the church for the performance of miracles. Luke has frequently been accused of having a bias for the miraculous. Probably, however, "it would be more in keeping with the evidence to commend him for his faithful reproduction of one of the major constituents of early Christianity."³ The Spirit also enabled the church to witness boldly and effectively to Christ. When the Spirit came on the day of Pentecost the halting, faint-hearted disciples were suddenly transformed into a band of fearless men who went out to conquer the world for Christ.⁴ The word which they spoke with inner constraint and great boldness fell on the conscience and hearts of men with incisive power (Acts 2:37; 6:10).

¹ Cf. Swete, op. cit., pp. 56f., 297.

² Ibid., pp. 76f.; cf. Snaith, "The Spirit of God in Jewish Thought," The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit, p. 25: "Whoever is responsible for the basic details of those first chapters of Acts know exactly what the Old Testament meant by ruach-adonai."

³ Caird, op. cit., p. 64. Luke's account is confirmed by various references to miracles in the epistles; cf. infra pp. 278f.

⁴ Cf. Kennedy, Vital Forces of the Early Church, p. 10: ". . . It is not going beyond the evidence to say that the early Christians soon began to feel their call to victory."

The concept of power is associated with the Spirit also in Paul's epistles. The gifts of miracle-working powers are bestowed in the church by the Spirit (I Cor. 12:9f.). The gift of the Spirit and the working of miracles are brought together in such a way as to suggest a relationship between them in Gal. 3:5. In one of his striking summaries of his missionary labors Paul speaks of what Christ had wrought through him "by the power of signs and wonders, by the power of the Holy Spirit" (Rom. 15:18f.). He reminds the Thessalonians that the gospel came to them "not only in word but also in power and in the Holy Spirit" (I Thess. 1:5). Writing to the Corinthians he contrasts the human weakness, fear, and trembling which marked his presence among them with his preaching which was "in demonstration of the Spirit and power" (I Cor. 2:3f.). He prays for the Ephesians that they might "be strengthened with might through his Spirit in the inner man" (Eph. 3:16). Similarly, he desires for the Romans that "by the power of the Holy Spirit" they may abound in hope (Rom. 15:13).¹ Finally, the Spirit is the power-secret of victory in the conflict with sin in the flesh (cf. Rom. 8:2ff., 12ff.; Gal. 5:16-25).²

Now the association of the Spirit with power is one of the elements in the Biblical background which enables us to understand the charismatic life of the apostolic church. If the Spirit works dynamically in human life, then such phenomena as are described by the term *χάρισμα*

¹ Cf. Michel, ME, on Rom. 15:13: "Δύναμις und πνεῦμα gehören für Pls eng zusammen: Gottes Geist offenbart sich als 'Kraft,' als Möglichkeit, die dem natürlichen menschen verschlossen ist." For the bearing of Paul's conversion experience on this relationship see Kennedy, The Theology of the Epistles, p. 89.

² For the association of power and the Spirit in the remaining epistles see II Tim. 1:7 (cf. Dibelius, HNT, ad. loco.); Heb. 2:4; 6:14f. (cf. Michel, ME, ad. loco.).

may be expected to occur. The Spirit as the principle of the Überwelt quickens personality in its entire range with new vitality. Χαρίσματα or abilities for service would naturally be associated with the work of the Spirit in the Christian community.

The Spirit and fellowship. The gift of the Spirit enables us to understand the new quality of fellowship which marked the life of the early church. Although the term κοινωνία occurs only once in Acts (2:41), the reality for which it stands is everywhere attested. H. W. Robinson says: "If we ask what is the most characteristic and comprehensive work of the Holy Spirit according to the New Testament, there can be little doubt that we should answer in the one word 'fellowship.'"¹

The word κοινωνία is employed variously in the New Testament.² Basically, however, it conveys the sense of an inner relationship which constitutes fellowship. Thus the κοινωνία of Acts 2:42 has reference to "an interior spiritual reality, an activity of sharing or communion, constituting the inner bond of that brotherly concord which, in turn, is realized and expressed in the life of the community."³

Now this "inner relationship" has two dimensions: On the one hand, it is a sharing in something and on the other, it is a sharing in something with someone else. What was this in which the early Christians had a

¹ Op. cit., p. 141; cf. Flew, op. cit., p. 109; Fison, The Blessing of the Holy Spirit, pp. 117f.

² Cf. the studies of Hauck, TWNT, III, pp. 789-810; Seesemann, Der Begriff KOINONIA im Neuen Testament (1933); George, Communion with God in the New Testament, pp. 132-136; Thornton, The Common Life in the Body of Christ, pp. 449-51.

³ This is Thornton's statement (ibid., p. 451) based on Hauck, TWNT, III, pp. 809f.

share? The answer can only be the gift of the Spirit. The sense of community which was so strong among the early Christians was not the product of mere theological reflection on the receding memory of Jesus' ministry among them.¹ Neither was it the result of persecution. Doubtless it was strengthened by opposition but it is represented in Acts as being in evidence before persecution broke upon the church. It was the result of a deep awareness of a common participation in the gift of the Spirit. It is not without significance that the only occurrence of *κοινωνία* in Acts is found just subsequently to the pouring out of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost (Acts 2:42). Although "togetherness" was characteristic of the disciples in the days preceding Pentecost (Acts 1:14; 2:1), the physical proximity and common activity suggested by these references was superseded at Pentecost by a more profound sense of community as the result of the gift of the Spirit.

The bond of Christian fellowship was no mere theoretical concept but found concrete embodiment in a sharing of goods (Acts 2:44f.; 4:32). This remarkable conduct is not to be explained as motivated primarily by the imminent eschatological expectations of the early Christians. It was basically "a Communism of Love."² The early Christians were "of one heart and soul" (Acts 4:32)³ because they were partakers of one common Life through the Spirit which was poured out upon them.

The intimate relationship between the Spirit and the solidarity

¹ Cf. H. W. Robinson, op. cit., p. 146: "A historical memory is not a fellowship."

² Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of the Christian Church, I, p. 63.

³ The Western text adds: *καὶ οὗκ ἐκρίσθησαν ἑαυτοὺς κοινω-
σεν ἡ.*

of fellowship in the church is further illuminated in Paul's epistles. Paul frequently speaks of the church as the body of Christ. Whatever may be the theological meaning of this phrase, experientially it is apprehended as the *κοινωνία τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος*. It should not be forgotten that such figures as "temple" and "body" which Paul employs for the church and which imply the unity of the church were fashioned in an age when the church had no actual building to call her own, no settled organization to constitute her unity. They were shaped from within by the living experience of unity, a unity created by a common sharing in the Spirit.¹

Paul's concept of the relation of the Spirit to the unity of the church was not due primarily to the pressure of his missionary experience as E. F. Scott was inclined to believe.² To be sure, Paul's observations and practical experience as a missionary underscored the necessity of Christian unity, but it did not occasion the doctrine of a unity rooted in a communal Spirit. To regard the concept as primarily the product of missionary expedience is, as Davies says,

to make the church account for his conception of the Spirit; it is to reduce the 'unity of the Spirit' as it were to the level of the motto of a co-operative Society. No interpretation of Paul's doctrine of the Spirit can be accepted which does not regard it as integral to the whole of his thought and not merely an aspect of his missionary strategy or pastoral technique.³

The basic assumption with which Paul begins when he speaks of the church as the body of Christ is not its diversity but its unity.⁴ If

¹ Cf. H. W. Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 140ff.; *vid.* also Kennedy, *The Theology of the Epistles*, p. 149, who stresses the inwardness of the conception of the church's unity.

² *The Spirit in the New Testament*, pp. 123ff.

³ *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, p. 202; cf. Schlatter, *HDAC*, I, p. 578b: "Because he [Paul] believed in the one Spirit he believed in the one body."

⁴ J.A.T. Robinson, *The Body, A Study in Pauline Theology*, pp. 58f.

Paul can speak of various ἐκκλησίες¹, his controlling thought is nonetheless the unity of the body because the several ἐκκλησία: are simply local manifestations of the one ἐκκλησία.¹ Now the bond of the church's unity is the Spirit. It is not a human achievement but a given reality. "For by one Spirit we were all baptized into one body-- Jews or Greeks, slaves or free--and all were made to drink of one Spirit" (I Cor. 12:13). "There is one body and one Spirit" (Eph. 4:4).² The unity which the Spirit creates, however, is not uniformity. There is diversity within the bonds of vital unity (I Cor. 12:4-11; Rom. 12:4ff.; Eph. 4:7ff.). The Spirit produces those qualities which make for unity amid diversity, pre-eminent among which is love (Gal. 5:22f.).³ If, however, unity is a gift of the Spirit, it needs also to be maintained by human effort (Eph. 4:1ff.; Phil. 1:27; 2:1ff.). To destroy the unity of the body is to grieve the Spirit (Eph. 4:29-32) and to incur the judgment of God (I Cor. 3:16f.).

It is within the context of the church as the κοινωνία of the Spirit that the χαρίσματα must be understood. This genuinely vital experience of spiritual solidarity provides the base upon which many of the most distinctive aspects of Paul's concept of the spiritual gifts rest. It is from this vantage point that Paul's emphasis on their social purpose is to be seen. From this source, also, are derived many

¹ Vid. Schmidt, *TWNT*, III, pp. 504, 508, 538f.; cf. Schweitzer, *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle*, pp. 103f.

² Stig Hanson, *The Unity of the Church in the New Testament*, pp. 95ff., has suggested that in Paul's epistles the Spirit has both an individual and a collective character. The concept of a corporate body is paralleled by that of a corporate Spirit.

³ For the association of the Spirit with love, cf. also Col. 1:7; Rom. 15:30.

of the great regulative principles for the exercise of the gifts. To these matters attention will need to be given at a later point in our study.¹

The Spirit and freedom. Freedom is one of the great words of the New Testament. Jesus began His ministry with the ringing declaration that He was sent "to proclaim release to the captives" and "to set at liberty those who are oppressed" (Lk. 4:18). Through word and deed He constantly sought throughout His ministry to set men free to live the life God planned for them (cf. Jno. 8:31-36). The concept of freedom occupies a large place in the letters of Paul. He boldly affirms, "For freedom Christ has set us free" and enjoins his converts not to "submit again to a yoke of slavery" (Gal. 5:1). He does not hesitate to say that "Christ is the end of the law" (Rom. 10:4) or that he himself is "free from all men" (I Cor. 9:19). Elsewhere also in the New Testament the peal of liberty is heard. Peter exhorts his readers, "Live as free men" (I Pet. 2:16) and James speaks about "the law of liberty" (Jas. 1:25).

Now Paul brings the concept of liberty into close relation with the Spirit. He confesses to the Romans that "the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus has set me free" and proceeds to elaborate in the verses that follow the relationship between the Spirit and freedom. The epistle to the Galatians has been called "the Magna Charta of spiritual emancipation."² It is not accidental that when he expounds the life of Christian freedom in chapter 5 he does so in closest relation to the Spirit.³

¹ Infra pp. 114ff.

² Farrar, The Messages of the Books, p. 258.

³ cf. vv. 5, 16-18; 22f., 25.

Perhaps, however, his classic declaration is to be found in II Cor. 3:17:
" . . . Where the Spirit of the Lord is there is freedom."¹

The freedom which the Spirit brought into the life of the New Testament church was far reaching in its scope. It dealt not only with the inner moral and spiritual life of man; it also was destined to modify the more external aspects of the community's life. Jewish legalism with its regularized pattern of life left little room for the spontaneity and freedom of the Spirit. The old wineskins of Judaism could not contain the ferment of the Spirit which was poured out upon the church at Pentecost. The Spirit impelled the early Christians to defy the orders of the Jewish leadership prohibiting Christian witnessing (Acts 4:17ff., 23-31). The Spirit led Philip to preach the gospel to an Ethiopian (Acts 8:26-40) and urged Peter, in defiance of Jewish tradition, to associate with Gentiles in the house of Cornelius (Acts 10:17-29; cf. 11:12). The awareness of the will of the Spirit inspired the Jewish Christian church to welcome Gentile Christians into their fellowship without imposing upon them all the legalistic requirements of Judaism (Acts 15:28).

Spirit-given freedom also prevailed in the worship life of the early church. Commenting on the passage already referred to in II Cor. 3:17, "where the Spirit of the Lord is there is freedom," A. B. Macdonald says: "These words might have stood over the doorway of the most humble of the meeting-places of the early church, as an appropriate motto."²

¹ Cf. Gunkel, op. cit., p. 97: "Πνεῦμα und ἐλευθερία sind also ebenso Korrelatbegriffe wie πνεῦμα und ἡνί." "

² Christian Worship in the Primitive Church, p. 47.

An intimate glimpse of the freedom which marked the worship life of the Corinthian church is provided by Paul's discussion in I Cor. 14, especially v. 26: "When you come together, each one has a hymn, a lesson, a revelation, a tongue, or an interpretation."¹ Although Paul laid down some principles for the control of Christian worship and enjoined that "all things should be done decently and in order" (I Cor. 14:40), there is no evidence that he attempted to establish fixed and uniform patterns of worship throughout his churches. It may be regarded as certain that the later types of liturgies which developed in the various centers of the Christian church reflect, as B. H. Streeter has suggested, "a maximum of freedom and diversity in the earliest period."²

The freedom which the Spirit brought to the life of the early church may be seen in the area of the development of church organization. A. B. Macdonald rightly insists that a great deal of our modern controversy about the government of the early church "has been vitiated by failure to recognize the fundamental quality of liberty in the early religion."³ E. F. Scott prefaces some remarks on the organization of the early church by the salutary reminder: "The church was distinguished

¹ Cf. also Eph. 5:18f. and the comments of E. F. Scott, MNTC, ad. loco.

² Op. cit., p. 52; cf. Srawley, The Early History of the Liturgy, xi f. Without going all the way with Lietzmann (Messe und Herrenmahl, 1926; for criticism vid. Higgins, The Lord's Supper in the New Testament, pp. 56-63), it may be said that even the central rite of the early church, the Lord's Supper, was not exempt from the influence of the principle of freedom. For a good statement on the combination of freedom and restriction in New Testament worship see Cullmann, Early Christian Worship, pp. 32f.

³ Op. cit., p. 47.

from all other societies in that it was governed by the Spirit. We have here a fact of fundamental importance for the understanding of early Christianity."¹ With due recognition of the significant role of the Spirit in the life of the early church we may expect to find "not a uniform system, but a wide range of local diversity."² Such variety indeed is reflected in the New Testament and in early Christian literature.

The freedom, therefore, which the Spirit brought into the life of the early church is a very important factor in any attempt to understand the charismatic phenomena. Room must be made for novelty, variation and even excess. The pattern of its expression cannot be plotted in advance.

¹ The Spirit in the New Testament, p. 103. He goes too far, however, when he asserts that the apostles rejected the very idea of organization as contrary to the nature of the church; cf. Johnston, The Doctrine of the Church in the New Testament, p. 66.

² Streeter, op. cit., p. 49; cf. pp. 53, 72; cf. also Grant, An Introduction to New Testament Thought, pp. 38f.

CHAPTER II

CONCERNING THE GIFTS

I. THE TWOFOLD LINEAGE OF THE CHARISMATIC CONCEPT

ΧΑΡΙΣ AND ΠΝΕΥΜΑ

As already noted at the beginning of this study, *χάρισμα* is related theologically as well as etymologically to *χάρις*. But *χάρισμα* also sustains a very close conceptual relationship to *πνεῦμα*. This is evident not only from the use of *πνευματικά* to designate this phenomena (I Cor. 14:1; cf. 12:1) but also by the way in which the Spirit is associated with the *χαρίσματα*, especially in I Cor. 12:4-11.¹ This twofold theological rootage of the charismatic concept must now be briefly examined.

The contribution of πνεῦμα. The association of *χάρισμα* with *πνεῦμα* is not surprising. Repeatedly in the Old Testament the Spirit is brought into connection with the abnormal and unusual in human experience. Similarly, in the Graeco-Roman world a relationship between spirit-possession and the unconventional in human behaviour was commonly held. Indeed, it is quite possible that the term *πνευματικά* as a designation for the *χαρίσματα* was not the creation of Paul. At least, it seems to have been current in the Corinthian community already when Paul composed I Corinthians as his use of it in the stereotyped introductory formula of 12:1 would suggest.² The Corinthians

¹ Cf. also Gal. 3:2-5; I Thess. 5:19f.; Rom. 15:19; Heb. 2:4.

² On the assumption that the phrase *περὶ δὲ τῶν πνευματικῶν* (I Cor. 12:1) reflects the Corinthians' correspondence with Paul; but vid. J. A. Robinson, "The Christian Ministry in the Apostolic and Sub-apostolic Periods," Essays in the Early History of the Church and the Ministry, ed. by H. B. Swete, p. 74.

probably also employed the term *πνευματικός* to refer to the obviously inspired person in their midst.¹ The use of *πνευματικά*, therefore, as a designation for such phenomena as prophecy and glossolalia was entirely in keeping with traditional and contemporary conceptions of spirit-manifestations.

In the hands of Paul, however, the association of the Spirit with the *χαρίσματα* received new meaning. The Spirit is related not only to the ecstatic and abnormal gifts such as glossolalia, prophecy and miracle working but to the less spectacular and ordinary service abilities. The category of *πνευματικά*, therefore, is broadened to include phenomena which normally would not have been regarded as belonging to it.

The use of *πνευματικά* as a term for the *χαρίσματα* calls attention particularly to the dynamic principle which is operative in their bestowal and exercise. The reference, of course, is not to the human but to the divine Spirit. It should be noted also that while the gifts themselves are many and varied, the efficient cause of all is unitary. All alike are inspired "by one and the same Spirit" (I Cor. 12:11).² Already in the recognition of this fact an important advance has been made toward a correct understanding both of the nature of the gifts and their proper exercise.

¹ Cf. I Cor. 14:37. Weiss, *MK*, *ad. loco.*, regards *πνευματικός* as referring particularly to the glossolalist; cf. Schlatter, *Paulus*, p. 390.

² In light of Paul's strong emphasis in I Cor. 12:4-11 on the unity of the Spirit behind the diversity of gifts the difficult statement in I Cor. 14:12 (*ὅτι ἕκαστος πνεύματος*) can hardly be regarded as an emergence of a more primitive view which saw individual spirits behind each phenomena as Weiss, *MK*, *ad. loco.* thinks. Perhaps *πνεύματα* should here be understood as a synonym for spiritual gifts; cf. Calvin, *CC*, *ad. loco.*; Parry, *CGT*, *ad. loco.* Godet, *I Cor.*, *ad. loco.*, understands it as referring to successive manifestations of the one Spirit; cf. I Cor. 14:26f.

The contribution of χάρις. If the very form of the word χάρισμα suggests a close kinship with χάρις, this relationship is further pointed up by explicit statements. Paul, for example, gives thanks for "the grace of God" given to the Corinthians which resulted in their not "lacking in any spiritual gift" (I Cor. 1:4, 7). To the Roman church he writes: "Having gifts that differ according to the grace given to us, let us use them" (Rom. 12:6). In Eph. 4:7ff. the term χάρισμα does not actually occur but such phenomena are clearly in view. Here, also, they are introduced by a reference to grace (v. 7). Finally, in I Peter 4:10 the author observes that "each has received a gift" and enjoins his readers to "employ it for one another as good stewards of God's varied grace." It is clear, therefore, that some inner tie exists between χάρις and χάρισμα.¹

Grace in the Christian vocabulary bears a meaning far beyond the Hellenistic connotation of favour or kindly disposition. In its special New Testament sense it refers to "the being and action of God as revealed and actualized in Jesus Christ."² Since grace is God's redeeming action in Christ, Paul never speaks of it in the plural (χάριτες) as do the Hellenistic writers even when he wishes to speak of the abundant grace of God. Moreover, grace for Paul underlies and conditions the whole of Christian experience. Unlike Judaism which conceived of grace as an aid

¹ Cf. Bultmann, op. cit., I, p. 291: "Charis is contained in both the word [χάρισμα] and the idea."

² Torrance, op. cit., p. 21; cf. 26-33. Vid. also W. Manson, "Grace in the New Testament," op. cit., especially pp. 40ff.; Bultmann, op. cit., I, pp. 288ff. Moffatt, Grace in the New Testament, pp. 198f., observes that Paul never cites any Old Testament text for grace, neither does he find it in nature; "he finds grace written for him in Jesus Christ alone, as though the Lord were God's living letter of grace to the world."

offered to man in his own attempts to attain righteousness, Paul knew that grace was "the will of God to constitute man's life afresh on a wholly new basis" and as such it was "the presupposition of the whole Christian life, not one principle which (along with others) works within that life."¹ Divine grace, however, does come to expression in the Christian's life in differentiated forms. It is here that we encounter the concept of *χάρισμα*. The *χαρίσματα* are concretions of grace. This does not mean that they are independent, quantitative materializations of *χάρις*. On the contrary, they are merely varied manifestations of God's total gracious activity in human life. Although God's grace becomes effective in concretely differentiated forms it is always one and the same grace which is thus expressed.

It is not possible to determine with certainty whether Paul was actually the creator of *χάρισμα* in its semi-technical New Testament sense.² The word is introduced in Paul's letters without definition as a term apparently familiar to his readers. P. Schmiedel is of the opinion that although Paul did not create it when composing I Corinthians, possibly he fashioned the concept "in the course of his observations of the extraordinary endowments intended by it, while engaged in his missionary labors."³ F. Büchsel, on the contrary, thinks Paul was hardly its creator but found it already at hand for his use.⁴ Its presence in

¹ W. Manson, "Grace in the New Testament," *op. cit.*, p. 46; cf. Wetter, *op. cit.*, pp. 8ff.

² It should be remembered, of course, that *χάρισμα* occurs already in Philo's works but in a non-New Testament sense.

³ EB, col. 4756; cf. Feine, *Theologie des Neuen Testament*, p. 464, who regards Paul as the creator not only of *χαρίσματα* but also *πνευματικά*, in their New Testament usage.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 355; cf. H. Cremer in *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* (1909), III, p. 11.

I Peter may argue for a wider dissemination of the term in the Christian community contemporary with Paul.

It appears that Paul preferred the term *χαρίσματα* to *πνευματικά* if comparative frequency of usage provides any clue to his mind on this matter. He employs the latter term only twice as a designation for the gifts: once in I Cor. 12:1 where it probably echoes Corinthian usage, and in I Cor. 14:1 where Paul returns after the discourse on love to the subject introduced in 12:1. It is not difficult to understand the affinity which the Corinthians may have felt for the term *πνευματικά* in light of Paul's emphasis on the Spirit and especially their native interest in "inspiration." By giving preference to the term *χαρίσματα* Paul, without minimizing the relation of the Spirit to the phenomena in question, highlighted another emphasis which provided a needed ballast in the Corinthian conception of them. By designating the *πνευματικά* as *χαρίσματα* the manifestations of the Spirit are oriented toward *χάρις*. They cannot be interpreted after the manner of spirit-inspiration in Hellenism.¹ These operations of the Spirit have their setting not in nature but in grace.² They are related intimately to the redemptive inbreak of God in history in the person and work of Christ through whom the eschatological community is constituted and in dependence upon whom it lives.

II. THE CHARACTER OF THE ΧΑΡΙΣΜΑΤΑ

The *χαρίσματα* and natural abilities. Nowhere in the New Testament is the relation of the *χαρίσματα* to the natural faculties and

¹ Cf. Grau, op. cit., pp. 169f.

² Cf. Wendland, NTD, VII, p. 92.

abilities of man discussed. This is not surprising in view of the particular point of view from which the *χαρίσματα* are regarded in the New Testament. The phenomena designated by this term are set within the context of the Christian life. The unbeliever is never said to have a *χάρισμα*. This means that they are viewed as part of the order of grace rather than as belonging to creation. They are related to the man in Christ rather than to the human constitution as such. It must not be forgotten that Paul regarded the transition to the Christian life as marking a radical break with the previous order of life. This is clearly indicated in Paul's startling statement: "Therefore, if anyone is in Christ he is a new creation, the old has passed away, behold, the new has come" (II Cor. 5:17). Elsewhere Paul compares the experience of becoming a Christian to that of death and resurrection. To become a Christian is to die to one manner of life and to rise into "newness of life" (Rom. 6:4). It matters little to Paul whether a man is "circumcised" or "uncircumcised"; he is supremely concerned whether he has become "a new creation" (Gal. 6:15).

As "a new creation" the whole of the Christian's life is new. This does not mean that there is literally no psychosomatic continuity between what a man was before he became a Christian and his subsequent person and life. To be sure, Paul would hardly have denied such a connection. But Paul has no interest in discussing the capacities and abilities of the Christian from the point of view of their pre-Christian roots. On the contrary, his thought begins where the Christian life begins. Since the Christian is a member of the new order and partakes of the life of the eschaton, his entire life is regarded from this point of view. Whatever he is as a Christian he is because of the miracle of grace. The super-

natural world is the presupposition of all his gifts and powers. For this reason Paul traces the most ordinary as well as the more unusual and spectacular abilities to the operation of grace and the Spirit.¹ It is futile, therefore, to try to find in Paul an explicit statement regarding the relation of the *χαρίσματα* to what might be called constitutional endowments.² This problem lay outside his interests.³

If, however, a modern approach is made to this problem some relationship between the *χαρίσματα* and what may be called natural abilities is commonly seen. Godet, for example, says:

. . . these new powers may have their point of attachment in natural talents. It is even most frequently the case that the operation of the Spirit fits into natural aptitudes; He impresses on them a higher direction, a new bent to the service of God, and He exalts their power by consecrating them to this sublime object.⁴

Similarly, C. A. A. Scott writing about the *χαρίσματα* also says:

It will not be supposed . . . that in the case of any of these powers the gift was an entirely new thing in the individual who received it, a pure addition to faculties which were otherwise without it. It was the doing and gift of God, looked at from another standpoint, it was in fact the quickening at the touch of the Spirit, of powers that were already there, but dormant, the sudden

¹ Cf. F. W. Dillistone, The Structure of the Divine Society, pp. 65f.: "Within the body, according to Paul, every gift depends directly upon the grace bestowed by God (Rom. 12:6) or to put it another way upon the manifestation of the Spirit (I Cor. 12:7)." Vid. also I. F. Wood, op. cit., pp. 176f.; Büchsel, op. cit., pp. 356; J. Gloßl, Der heilige Geist, pp. 318f.

² This point is stressed by Lauterburg, op. cit., pp. 26-28.

³ It should not be forgotten also that he did not regard the differentia of a *χάρισμα* as related at all to the evident degree of normality or abnormality in which a given ability was present. It consisted rather in the service character of the ability to build up the church.

⁴ I Cor., II, pp. 173f.

release of faculties that had lain below the 'threshold' of consciousness.¹

In any modern attempt, however, to distinguish between what may have been natural abilities and those which were supernatural *Χαρίσματα* in the early church, it should be remembered that no Christian is a mere natural man. The whole of the Christian's personality with all of its powers has come under the vivifying influence of the Spirit. He no longer possesses any merely natural gifts.²

The *ΧΑΡΙΣΜΑΤΑ* and "the fruit of the Spirit." Paul employs the phrase, ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ πνεύματος only once in his letters.³ It is set in contrast to τὰ ἔργα τῆς σαρκὸς which characterize the life which is not controlled by the Spirit.⁴ Whereas Paul speaks of the manifestations of the flesh under the plural form ἔργα he uses the singular καρπός to describe the results of the Spirit's work in the life of the Christian. This is likely a conscious attempt to emphasize the inner unity and common source of the phenomena in view.⁵ The meaning

¹ "What Happened at Pentecost?" *The Spirit*, ed. by B. H. Streeter, p. 152; cf. also T. M. Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries*, p. 63, n. 1.

² Cf. H. W. Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 41: "The relation of Spirit to spirit means the heightening of all human powers . . ."; cf. Lauterburg, *op. cit.*, p. 22, n. 1.

³ Gal. 5:22f.; but cf. ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ φωτός (Eph. 5:9) and καρπὸν δικαιοσύνης (Phil. 1:11).

⁴ Gal. 5:19ff.

⁵ So Schlier, *KK*, *ad. loco.* R. T. Stamm, *IB*, X, *ad. loco.*, suggests that the variations in number may reflect Paul's experience. Before becoming a Christian his life "was split into fragmentary deeds." As a Christian he found integration in the Spirit. T. W. Manson, "Jesus, Paul and the Law," *Judaism and Christianity*, ed. by E. Rosenthal, III, p. 139, believes that καρπός may be chosen deliberately to suggest that the phenomena about to be described are characterized by a certain spontaneity in expression.

of the phrase is illuminated by the series of predicate nominatives which follow. How are the concepts of the "fruit of the Spirit" and the "gifts of the Spirit" to be related?

As both phrases suggest, the phenomena in question are the result of the Spirit's activity. In this respect no difference is to be seen between the *χαρίσματα* and the *καρπὸς τοῦ πνεύματος*. When the respective lists of "gifts" (I Cor. 12:1ff.) and "fruit" (Gal. 5:22f.) are compared, it will be observed that *πίστις* occurs in both. This would further suggest that in reference to content at least at one point there appears to be some overlap.

E. D. Burton attempts to distinguish between the two by including under the *χαρίσματα*

those extraordinary experiences and powers which were not necessarily evidential of moral character in those in whom they appeared, but because of their extraordinary character and association with the acceptance of the gospel message . . . were regarded as effects and evidences of the presence and activity of the Spirit of God. These are all external and easily recognizable.

Under the term *καρπὸς τοῦ πνεύματος* he would include

those ethical qualities and spiritual experiences which were not popularly thought of as evidence of the Spirit's presence, but which, to the mind of Paul, were of far greater value than the so-called *χαρίσματα*.¹

This definition of the *χαρίσματα*, however, overlooks what we have seen to be a characteristic feature of its New Testament usage, namely, its relation to the building up of the Christian community. Furthermore, scarcely all of the *χαρίσματα* would qualify as "extraordinary experiences and powers."²

¹ ICC, *ad. loco.*

² E.g. the *ἀντιλήψεις* or *κυβερνήσεις* of I Cor. 12:28; cf. Rom. 12:8.

Lauterburg has proposed another canon of differentiation in terms of the manner in which the Spirit is recognized as at work in each.¹ The *Χαρίσματα* are distinguished by the evident operation of the Spirit in them as their efficient cause (causa efficiens) from the very beginning of their manifestation. The Spirit, on the contrary, is seen to be at work in the *Καρπὸς* as the final cause (causa finalis). In this case only gradually after the various spiritual graces have reached a certain degree of maturity are they recognized as proceeding from the Spirit. This, however, is a subtle arbitrary distinction which lacks not only cogent support from the New Testament as F. Grau has ably shown,² but also fails to do justice to the service orientation of the *Χαρίσματα*.

It would seem best, then, to see the difference between the *Χαρίσματα* and the *Καρπὸς τοῦ Πνεύματος* along the lines of their respective character and purpose.³ The "fruit of the Spirit" represent the Spirit's work in the transformation of character, both individual and corporate, into the likeness of Christ.⁴ All of the various Spirit-wrought graces which are gathered up in the singular noun *Καρπὸς* belong to the life of every Christian and Christian community. To be Christian is to manifest in some degree these tokens of the Spirit's sanctifying presence in the heart. The *Χαρίσματα*, on the other hand, are Spirit-given service abilities for meeting practical needs in the daily life of the church and thus minister to its upbuilding. These gifts are variously

¹ Op. cit., pp. 34ff.

² Op. cit., pp. 158ff.

³ Cf. Duncan, MNTC, ad. loco.

⁴ Cf. Schlier, MK, p. 187: "Die 'Frucht des Geistes umfasst . . . jene inneren Auswirkungen des Pneuma, die die persönliche Grundlage und Verwirklichung des christlichen Lebens in der Kirche darstellen."

bestowed. Although a particular Christian may possess more than one *χάρισμα* his endowment is fragmentary and requires the supplementation of the gifts of others in order that all the needs of the community may be met.¹ Thus while the Spirit is behind and active in both types of phenomena the purpose in view determines whether a given manifestation of the Spirit should be called a *χάρισμα* or belongs more properly to the *καρπὸς τοῦ πνεύματος*.

It is from this point of view that the inclusion of *πίστις* in both categories is understandable. It is uncertain whether *πίστις* in Gal. 5:22 is to be understood as "faith" (A.V.) or "faithfulness" (R.S.V.). Both translations are possible and are variously supported by scholars.² But regardless of which rendering is adopted in this passage, it is clear that in I Cor. 12:9 *πίστις* carries a quite different sense where it obviously means miracle-working faith.³ When *πίστις* is related to a service in behalf of the community, it is properly regarded as a *χάρισμα*. But when it is seen from the point of view of the religious or ethical life of the Christian individual or group either as simple trust in God or as the quality of faithfulness in relation both to God and man, then it is designated as part of the complex "fruit of the Spirit." The distinction, therefore, between the two types of phenomena is neither rigid nor absolute. It is to be sought rather in the purpose each seeks to serve. The former are gifts which serve in a special way to build up the

¹ I Cor. 12:7ff.; 29f.; Rom. 12:6ff.

² The evidence is set out by Schlier, *MK*, *ad. loco*. The majority of scholars cited prefer the rendering adopted by the R.S.V. which seems to harmonize best with the context.

³ So Weiss, *MK*, *ad. loco*; Lietzmann, *INT*, *ad. loco*, and most commentators; *vid. infra*.

community; the latter are gifts which are related more particularly to the realization of Christlikeness in character.¹

Does each Christian possess a χάρισμα? If the *χαρίσματα* are service abilities bestowed by the Spirit for the purpose of building up the community, does it follow that each member of the church is endowed with one or more gifts? Paul nowhere directly deals with this problem. Inferences, however, may be drawn from certain data which he provides.

It is possible on the basis of I Cor. 12:9, 11, and Rom. 12:3 to argue that Paul regarded each Christian as possessing some *χάρισμα*.² Lauterburg, however, maintains that in I Cor. 12:7 the emphasis does not fall on *ἐκάστῳ* but on *πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον* and, likewise, in I Cor. 12:11 the emphasis does not fall on *ἐκάστῳ* but on *καθὼς βούλεται*.³ It is conceivable also that Rom. 12:3 may not refer to every member of the Christian community but only to the charismatically endowed.⁴

Sohm defends the view that every Christian has a *χάρισμα* be-

¹ Care must be taken not to convert "the fruit of the Spirit" into static virtues. Love, for example, does not exist in abstraction. It lives in deeds of self-sacrificing service. In that sense, love approximates a *χάρισμα*. Yet love operates through the media of specialized abilities (e.g. teaching, administration, etc.). Love, therefore, may be thought of as related to the gifts as the impulse and spirit of their exercise. It is not a service ability per se. On the fluid character of the distinction between the *χαρίσματα* and the "fruit of the Spirit," vid. Gloël, op. cit., pp. 355ff.

² So E. Haupt, Zum Verstandnis des Apostolats (1896), p. 119: "Es giebt kein Mitglied der Gemeinde, welches nicht sein eigentümliches Charisma besässe." Also Weiss, MK, on I Cor. 12:7: "... Der Gedanke scheint zu sein: die Fülle ist so gross, dass jedem ein Stück verliehen wird." Cf. Héring, CNT, on I Cor. 12:4ff.

³ Op. cit., p. 18.

⁴ Cf. Michel, Romans, MK, p. 264, n. 4.

cause he has the Holy Spirit. To have the Spirit is to have also a charismatic gift.¹ This may appear to be a logical conclusion, especially if one regards the Spirit as heightening an individual's natural endowments.² Nevertheless, Paul nowhere argues that since all Christians possess the Spirit, therefore all Christians likewise possess *χαρίσματα*.³

If the significance of the "body" metaphor which Paul employs in I Cor. 12:12ff. and Rom. 12:4f. is pressed, it is possible again to arrive inferentially at the conclusion that each Christian possesses a *χάρισμα*, for each is a distinctive member of the body with a specific function to perform in the life of the whole.⁴ It is possible, however, that Paul did not mean to imply that each Christian had received a gift but merely that there are various gifts and that the diversity must be employed in such a way as to minister to the wellbeing of the whole.⁵

We are left, therefore, without a decisive unambiguous answer to this question in Paul's letters.⁶ This merely indicates that this was not a major concern of Paul's. Indeed, his approach to the charismatic

¹ *Op. cit.*, I, p. 28.

² Cf. Lindsay, *op. cit.*, pp. 69f.

³ Cf. Michaelis, *Das Alte Testament*, p. 62: "Zwar wird nicht jeder Christ in den paulinischen Gemeinden im Besitz eines besonderen Charismas gewesen sein Es hat aber keinen Christen gegeben, der überhaupt nicht im Besitz des Geistes gewesen wäre."

⁴ So Haupt, *loc. cit.*

⁵ See Lauterburg, *op. cit.*, pp. 18f.; cf. Grau, *op. cit.*, p. 189. On the relation of individualized *χαρίσματα* to the common obligations of service and witnessing which are incumbent upon all Christians vid. G. Hilbert, "Charisma und Amt," *Das Erbe Martin Luthers*, p. 358.

⁶ Perhaps the same may be said of I Pet. 4:10, although the passage naturally would suggest that each Christian has received a gift.

phenomena precludes any great concern as to whether or not every last member of the community possessed a *χάρισμα*. If possession of such gifts were wholly a matter of human achievement, then Paul might well have been anxious that every Christian secure one for himself. But Paul regards the *χάρισμα* as gifts which are sovereignly bestowed by the Spirit for the welfare of the Christian community. The Spirit both knows what gifts are needed and also sees to it that the needed gifts are supplied.

It is difficult, however, to feel that Paul would not have regarded each Christian as possessing a *χάρισμα*. Two reasons may be urged in support of this conclusion. (1) Paul likely would not have thought of any Christian as a spiritual drone or parasite merely living off the community and making no contribution to it. (2) The wide span of abilities which Paul includes under the *χάρισμα* suggests that he saw even the most common service abilities which the most ordinary Christian normally would possess as a *χάρισμα*.

The *χάρισμα* as gifts and the human will. An emphasis occurring constantly in connection with the various discussions of the *χάρισμα* is their gift character. They are sovereignly bestowed in accordance with the divine will.¹ At the same time there are also indications that human initiative and responsibility both in the acquisition and in the exercise of the gifts is not entirely wanting.² This poses the problem of the relation between the sovereign working of the

¹ I Cor. 12:11, 28; Rom. 12:3, 6; Eph. 4:7, 11; I Pet. 4:10.

² I Cor. 12:31a; 14:1, 13, 27ff., 39; cf. I Tim. 4:14; II Tim. 1:6.

Spirit and human volition in the conception of $\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$.¹

In primitive and Hellenistic thought the "spirit" was regarded as an external, impersonal power which fell suddenly and irresistibly upon men. The experience might be invited and even induced by certain conditioning procedures but when it occurred, the recipient was completely under the control of the "spirit." The Corinthian enthusiasm for glossolalia doubtless owed much to this popular pagan conception of "spirit" activity.

Paul understood the Spirit as working in another manner. While the $\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$ were indeed manifestations of the sovereign activity of the Spirit, they were not regarded as operations of some overwhelming natural or impersonal power. They were gifts of the Spirit and as such were the expression of a free personal will to give (I Cor. 12:11). The members of the Christian community, likewise, received the gifts of the Spirit as persons who were not wholly passive in relation to the reception and use of the gifts. The framework of Paul's thought of the gifts is a personalized conception of the Spirit's operation in human experience rather than the pagan Hellenistic understanding described above.

Now in order to protect the sovereign grace character of the gifts, it is not necessary to empty the exhortations to desire the gifts, such as are found in I Cor. 12:31; 14:1, 39, of all reference to personal responsibility.² On the contrary, as Schlatter has pointed out, God's will is not to be understood as equivalent to fate.³ It does not operate as an impersonal power or as a law fixed from eternity. God's will to

¹ Helpful discussions of this problem may be found in Lauterburg, op. cit., pp. 22-26; F. Grau, op. cit., pp. 162-165.

² Grosheide, NICNT, pp. 301, 316f., is in danger of doing this.

³ Paulus, p. 352.

bestow gifts is not incompatible with desiring the best gifts. God Himself wills such striving and longing after His gifts. Such desire may indeed provide the proper subjective condition for the bestowal of gifts.¹

If Christians, then, are encouraged to seek spiritual gifts, especially those which are eminently fruitful in edifying the church, two qualifying considerations need to be kept in mind. First, the gifts cannot be secured at will in order to further one's own interests. This is a pagan concept. The gift cannot be captured through any clever psychological techniques. The gifts remain the prerogative of the Giver to dispense as He chooses. The exhortation to seek the gifts is not to be understood in the sense of employing certain human techniques but as a request for the *Xapismata*. Prayer is the means through which the gifts are to be sought.² Second, if the Christians are enjoined to desire the spiritual gifts (I Cor. 12:31; 14:1), it should not be forgotten that this exhortation is given under the shadow of Paul's great discourse on love (I Cor. 13). Love alone provides the atmosphere in which spiritual gifts can be desired without injury to oneself or to the community.³

If human volition is not completely set aside in the bestowal of the gifts, neither is it passive in their exercise. Since the Spirit does not overwhelm human personality the recipient of a gift is free to decide whether or not he will exercise his gift on a given occasion as the situa-

¹ Cf. Wendland, *NTD*, VV, p. 99; Goudge, *WC*, on I Cor. 12:31a; K. Barth, *The Resurrection of the Dead*, pp. 78f.

² Grau, *op. cit.*, p. 163; cf. I Cor. 14:13 where the glossolalist is urged to pray for the gift of interpretation.

³ Cf. I Cor. 14:12 where enthusiasm for manifestation of the Spirit is safeguarded by being tied to the edification of the church.

tion may demand. The prophet and even the glossolalist are not at the mercy of their gifts.¹ Thus complete moral responsibility is assured in the exercise of the *Χαρίσματα*.

III. THE REGULATION OF THE *ΧΑΡΙΣΜΑΤΑ*

A. The Need for Control

That some guidance in the understanding and exercise of the *Χαρίσματα* was necessary in the early church is readily apparent from I Cor. 12-14. Presumably the Corinthians themselves asked for guidance on the matter as the introductory phrase (I Cor. 12:1a) would suggest. Although Paul does not give a full description of what was actually the situation at Corinth, it is possible to infer something of the problem from his discussions in these chapters. It appears that the Corinthians saw the genuine expression of the Spirit in the ecstatic gift of tongues. They fervently sought the possession of this gift. Consequently, it was "a church mostly gone to tongues."² They had set "ardor against order"³ and confusion reigned. The less spectacular ministries of the word and service were depreciated in favor of the exciting and more demonstrable. Paul saw signs of real spiritual danger. Far from a Laodicean temper, Corinth needed "the curb, not the spur."⁴

It is impossible to say how widely the type of situation current in Corinth prevailed in the early church. Enthusiasm, as already noted, was

¹ Cf. I Cor. 14:27-33.

² A. B. Bruce, St. Paul's Conception of Christianity, p. 247.

³ A phrase attributed to J. A. Mackay by Newbigin, The Household of God, p. 114.

⁴ R. A. Knox, Enthusiasm, p. 23.

a mark of primitive Christianity in general.¹ Doubtless, however, there were differences in the degree in which it found expression in the various Christian communities.²

The excessive emphasis on the ecstatic manifestations of the Spirit in Corinth may reflect in part the Greek background of the larger part of this particular church. Ecstasy as a mark of spirit possession was a commonplace in Greek thought.³ The Corinthians probably experienced ecstatic inspiration in their pre-Christian religious life as may be gathered from I Cor. 12:2.⁴ Or if the suggestion of T. W. Manson be accepted that Jerusalem influence is reflected in the high evaluation placed upon tongues, this also would have tended to distort the Corinthians' understanding of the manifestation of the Spirit in their midst.⁵

Now ecstasy per se is amoral. The experience must be judged by what accompanies the experience.⁶ Unfortunately, in Corinth, if not elsewhere in the early church, ecstasy was not incompatible with a very low standard of moral conduct (e.g. I Cor. 5, 6; 11:21). Indeed, it was possible that such persons might claim that the gifts given to them were a proof that their conduct, however contrary to the morality demanded by

¹ Cf. supra pp. 79ff.

² Cf. I Thess. 5:19f. where Paul has to emphasize the need for allowing them free scope.

³ Cf. Oepke, TWNT, II, pp. 447-451, and the references cited.

⁴ This passage itself does not necessarily demand ecstatic experience but the context suggests it. Cf. Weiss, MK, ad. loc.; Lietzmann, HNT, ad. loc.; but see Schlatter, Paulus, p. 332.

⁵ Infra pp. 252f.

⁶ Cf. Cutten, Psychological Phenomena of Christianity, pp. 47f.

the Gospel, was divinely approved. It would be difficult for those less favoured in respect to spiritual gifts to protest effectively since they would automatically occupy an inferior status in the eyes of their fellow-Christians. Even if they did protest, probably they would have been answered from Paul's own teaching regarding freedom from the law. Those who propose to set up any rule of Christian morality are merely attempting to re-impose that yoke of bondage from which Christ had freed his followers.¹

B. The Principles of Control

The Lordship of Christ. Paul's discussion of spiritual gifts in I Cor. 12 is introduced by the enunciation of a basic criterion for the differentiation of genuine Spirit inspiration from demonic. The statement apparently is made in response to a question which was put to Paul by the Corinthians and which arose out of their experience. The situation may be reconstructed as follows: In the ecstatic utterances which characterized the worship gatherings of the Christian community in Corinth occasionally might be heard the words, 'Αναθέμα Ἰησοῦς.² Perhaps the utterance came from one who in other respects gave the impression of being a Christian. The high esteem accorded ecstatic utterance by the Corinthians posed the problem of how to evaluate such inspired speech. In their uncertainty they turned to Paul for help.

¹ Cf. W. L. Knox, St. Paul and the Church of Jerusalem, pp. 310f.

² Grosheide, NICNT, ad. loco., would not regard this utterance as an actual occurrence in the Corinthian church but sees in it "a brief statement summarizing everything that could be said against Jesus." Cf. also Findlay, EGT, II, ad. loco., who regards this as the utterance of a Jewish unbeliever who had gained entrance to the Christian assembly. It is not inconceivable, however, that "Jesus be cursed!" may occasionally have been heard among the ecstatic utterances of the Corinthian church.

Paul's answer is forthright and terse: "Therefore I want you to understand that no one speaking by the Spirit of God ever says 'Jesus be cursed!' and no one can say 'Jesus is Lord' except by the Holy Spirit" (I Cor. 12:3).¹ Two assumptions underlie Paul's answer: (1) Ecstatic utterance is spirit-controlled utterance. (2) An utterance inspired by the Holy Spirit can only exalt and never disparage Jesus. Paul probably assumes that in Corinth there are such who have no love for Jesus but who would nevertheless not openly anathematize Him (cf. I Cor. 16:22). But in the ecstatic condition what is in the heart will come out. No deceit or simulation is possible.² Undoubtedly the attempt of scholars to interpret the occurrence of such strange utterances in the Corinthian church as "Jesus be cursed!" in light of modern psychological insights³ may provide a more satisfying account of the phenomena in view than Paul's explanation. But such modern explanations should not be attributed to Paul. He does not contemplate the possibility of a true Christian under intense religious excitement giving irresponsible utterance to sentiments which did not represent his true Christian standing. Such blasphemous utterances as "Jesus be cursed!" can only be inspired by demons and reveal the true status of the person involved. Furthermore, Paul is not

¹ Cf. Weiss, MK, ad. loco.: "Seine Antwort ist allgemein-apodiktisch."

² It is true, of course, that the Spirit is active in all true apprehension of Jesus as Lord; cf. Knox, The Early Church and the Coming Great Church, p. 72. No one knew this better than Paul; cf. Moffatt, Grace in the New Testament, p. 152. But Paul does not have in view here that which characterizes all Christians, but the occasional ecstatic utterance. Cf. Weiss, MK, ad. loco.; Schlatter, Paulus, p. 334; This point is missed by Calvin, CC, ad. loco.

³ Cf. Schlatter, Paulus, p. 334: "... Ihr Enthusiasmus habe ihr waches Bewusstsein so stark gehemmt, dass aus ihrem Unterbewusstsein unwillkürlich der alte jüdische Fluch wieder hervorgekommen sei." Cf. Moffatt, MNTC, ad. loco.

contemplating a creedal test to which rational assent is made.¹ Such a profession could easily be simulated. He has in view spirit controlled utterances which give direct evidence of the character of the inspiration in question.

If Paul's categorical pronouncement may require certain modification in light of modern studies in depth psychology before it can be applied as a valid test of the status of persons who may utter such blasphemous statements under intense emotional excitement, it nevertheless enshrines a valid general principle: the test of genuine Christian inspiration is its witness to the Lordship of Jesus.

Paul knows . . . that the entire sphere of the 'pneumatics'--of the religious, as it would probably be best to translate the word--is an ambiguous sphere. Where does the daemoniac start? Where does the divinely operative cease? Life, motion in itself, is no certain characteristic of the latter! Even the 'dumb gods' know how to move their people. The name Jesús is for Paul the criterion before which the spirits separate.²

Here then is the decisive test, the glorification of Jesus. It was for this purpose that the Spirit was given.³ Nothing, however supernatural, comes from the Spirit if it dishonours Christ. This is a principle which in its application to the life of the church ranges far beyond mere ecstatic utterance. The Spirit's work in the realm of the spectacular as well as the commonplace must be seen as in harmony with the

¹ K. and S. Lake, Introduction to the New Testament, p. 170 (cf. 114) regard I Cor. 12:3 as "the earliest form of a creed used as a test." In criticism see Guy, New Testament Prophecy, p. 112.

² Barth, op. cit., p. 73; cf. G. Schrenk, "Geist und Enthusiasmus," (Wort und Geist, ed. by A. Köberle and O. Schmitz), cited by H. D. Wendland, NTD, VII, p. 118: "Die Geistfrage entscheidet sich an der Christus-Frage." This important essay clearly presents the essential differences between Christian and pagan inspiration.

³ Cf. Jno. 15:26; 16:13ff.

Lordship of Christ.

The church as the body of Christ. The concept of the church as the body of Christ occurs in connection with each of the four Pauline lists of $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$.¹ For the purpose of this study there is no need to inquire into the origin of the phrase, nor to review the various ways in which Paul is alleged by modern scholars to have understood the concept.² If the phrase is regarded as metaphor, it should not be forgotten that it points to a unique reality, a most intimate spiritual fellowship between Christ and the church and between Christians within the church based upon the experience of the Spirit. If, on the other hand, the conception is interpreted in a more literalistic sense, it should not be forgotten that Paul's interest in the use of the phrase lies primarily in the ethical sphere rather than in the metaphysical.³ Because the church is regarded as the body of Christ, it is imperative that certain conduct should follow. It is at this point where the concept bears in a meaningful way upon our study. What are the practical implications of Paul's concept of the church as the body of Christ for the exercise of the spiritual gifts?

The description of the church as the body of Christ focuses attention on the inner life of the church rather than its relation to the

¹ I Cor. 12:8-26; 27-30; Rom. 12:4-8; Eph. 4:7-16.

² The literature is voluminous. A good recent survey of opinion may be found in J. R. Nelson, The Realm of Redemption, chap. III; cf. also J.A.T. Robinson, op. cit., chap. III, who supports a quite literalistic interpretation; E. Best, One Body in Christ, chap. VI, argues cogently for the view that the phrase is a projection on the plane of metaphor of the concept of Christ and the church as a corporate personality; G. Johnston, op. cit., pp. 85ff., believes that the conception is on "the verge of passing beyond the stage of metaphor, if it has not yet done so," (p. 90).

³ Cf. F. W. Dillistone, op. cit., p. 69.

outer world. It highlights the character of the church's life as constituted both in a rich diversity and in a basic unity.¹ We may begin with the element of diversity.

Manifoldness is essential to the concept of a body. "For the body does not consist of one member but of many If all were a single organ, where would the body be" (I Cor. 12:14, 19). Likewise, in Romans 12:4 the body is described as having "many members" which when translated into the language of the problem under discussion means a variety of gifts (v. 6). To be sure, this diversification is not viewed as a gradation of spiritual status before God but as functional in character. Possessing the Spirit each is a member of the body of Christ and all are brethren. The diversity of gifts answers to the variety of needs which must be met in the life of the Christian community if it is to function as it should. It should be observed that the diversity which characterized the church is never regarded as a merely natural phenomenon or the result of human achievement. It is divinely ordered. The gifts are sovereignly bestowed.²

Three important conclusions for the proper exercise of the gifts flow from a due recognition of their diversity. First, no one person regardless of how significant a gift he may possess constitutes the whole body. He is merely a fraction of the whole. It is important, therefore, that the individual Christian see himself and his gift in relation to the body. Paul writes to the Christians at Rome: "I bid every one among you

¹ Cf. C. A. A. Scott, The Fellowship of the Spirit, p. 72: the term suggests a "combination of one-ness and diversity, singleness of life and manifoldness of instrument."

² I Cor. 12:7-11; 28; Rom. 12:3, 6; Eph. 4:7, 11.

not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think but to think with sober judgment, each according to the measure of faith which God has assigned him" (Rom. 12:3). C. H. Dodd's comment on this passage is apropos: "For a just estimate of oneself it is necessary that one should escape from the individualistic outlook, and think of himself as part of a social whole."¹ To view oneself in isolation from the body is to expose oneself to the danger of an inflated sense of self importance. Second, if a person is only one member of the body and not the whole then he can neither despise nor dispense with his brother. Not only is his brother also a member of the body but without him there would not be a body at all. "The eye cannot say to the hand, 'I have no need of you,' nor again the head to the feet 'I have no need of you.' On the contrary, the parts of the body which seem to be weaker are indispensable" (I Cor. 12:21f.). Conversely, to know oneself as a member of the body is a safeguard against a sense of undue self depreciation. "If the foot should say, 'Because I am not a hand, I do not belong to the body' that would not make it any less a part of the body" (I Cor. 12:15f.). Third, a recognition of the sovereign way in which gifts are given to members of the body precludes any ground for pride in the possession of a particular gift. What is gratuitously given cannot be the ground for self-glorification (cf. I Cor. 4:6f.).

If diversity is essential to the concept of a body, unity is no less important. The physical body is more than the sum total of its members. It represents a marvellous organic unity of all its members in one ordered whole. Through all the various parts of the one body there flows

¹ INTC, p. 194; cf. also the excellent comments by A. Nygren, Romans, pp. 420ff.

a common life from which each receives its vitality and strength. Likewise, the deepest note in Paul's doctrine of the church as the body of Christ is not diversity but unity. Indeed, Paul begins both in I Cor. 12:12f. and Romans 12:4 with the unity of the body and proceeds to its diversity. Similarly, the discussion of the various gifts given to the church in Eph. 4:11 is prefaced by a recognition of the church's unity (Eph. 4:3f.).¹ All share one Spirit; through all flows a common life; all are bound together in an indissoluble unity.²

It should be noted that although in one sense this unity is a given constitutive part of the church's existence, it must be actualized in practical experience by conscious effort (cf. Eph. 4:3). The manifold gifts of the Spirit must not be pitted against each other but exercised in such a way that the unity implicit in the common sharing of the Spirit may find concrete expression in the life of the Christian community. Precisely at this point the Corinthians failed. The exaggerated emphasis on the spectacular gift of glossolalia to the disparagement of the more essential ones constituted a serious threat to the unity of the church. Member vied with member to further his own status. The sense of individual importance tended to obscure the bond of community. To meet this difficulty Paul emphasized two unifying factors which provide the framework within which the phenomenon of diversity must be set. First, "one and the same Spirit" is the common source of all the gifts which were in evidence in their midst (I Cor. 12:4, 11). Variegated as the abilities may be, they nevertheless issue from one matrix. ^{Things which are} What is inspired alike by the same Spirit cannot be played off against each other in the Chris-

¹ Cf. J.A.T. Robinson, op. cit., p. 60.

² Grau, op. cit., p. 201

tian community. Second, not only do the various gifts have a common origin but they are designed to serve a common end, the building up of the body of Christ. "To each is given the manifestation of the Spirit for the common good" (I Cor. 12:7; cf. Eph. 4:11f.). The purpose for which each gift is to be exercised lies beyond the welfare of the individual himself in the profit of the total community. Only as each particular gift makes its distinctive contribution in the life of the body is its exercise justified. Every gift is incomplete in itself and requires to be supplemented by the ministry of another in the interest of the whole. For this reason it is the concern of all that each member fulfills the God-given function assigned to him. Thus gift is bound to gift and diversity of endowment is harnessed to unity of goal.

The service objective. By definition a *χάρισμα* is a service ability which is given for the purpose of building up the church. A *χάρισμα* is no mere potential ability which may be passively held or privately exercised. Only as an ability actualizes itself in service for the Christian community may it properly be called a *χάρισμα*.¹ It is not surprising, therefore, to find the term *οἰκοδομή* closely associated with *χάρισμα*. Repeatedly, in I Cor. 12 Paul stresses the importance of edifying the church through the exercise of the spiritual gift with which one is entrusted.² The building up of the church is primarily the work of the Spirit but the media through which it is effected are the various gifts.³

¹ Cf. Lauterburg, op. cit., pp. 13ff.

² Vv. 3-5, 6, 12, 17, 26, 31; cf. also I Pet. 4:10 where the term does not occur but the concept is present.

³ The pneumatic-charismatic character of *οἰκοδομή* where used in the New Testament in relation to the building up of the church is stressed by O. Michel, TWNT, V, p. 143.

The service purpose of the gifts introduces a criterion for an evaluation of their relative importance. Though all the gifts contribute in some way to the building up of the church, certain ones do so in a larger and more significant way than others. The order of importance among the gifts, therefore, is not determined arbitrarily, nor by reference to the degree of their abnormality, but by their service utility.¹ For this reason the gifts which are related to the ministry of the Word by which the church's faith is sustained and nourished are of more importance than the irrational gift of glossolalia.² The church, however, is built up not only by the spoken word but also by the ministry of deeds. Various ordinary but necessary tasks need to be done if the life of the church is to function smoothly. Services which supply these needs also contribute to the building up of the Christian community and are not to be regarded as unimportant. No one gift is able to meet all the various needs of the community. The church is built up when each to whom God has given a gift serves in such a way as to complement the contribution of another.

The motivation of love. The importance of love in relation to Paul's conception of the *Χαρίσματα* is suggested by its close association with each of the great passages dealing with the gifts. Paul's injunction:

¹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 148: "Der entscheidende Gesichtspunkt bei der Beurteilung der Charismen ist der, ob die Gemeinde Erbauung empfängt." Cf. E. Schweizer, *TWNT*, VI, p. 430; J. Brosch, *Charismen und Ämter*, pp. 32-37. This criterion is quite contrary to that which the Corinthians had set up. They "aimed at show rather than usefulness," Calvin, *CC* on I Cor. 12:31.

² For the basis upon which glossolalia was regarded as a *Χαρίσμα* by Paul, *vid. infra* pp. 259f.

"Let love be genuine; . . . love one another with brotherly affection" (Rom. 12:9f.) follows immediately upon the listing of the gifts in vv. 6-8. Likewise, love is mentioned three times in the context of Paul's discussion of the gifts which Christ has given to the church in Eph. 4:11f., (cf. vv. 2, 15, 16). The most familiar and notable passage, however, is the great hymn to love which he inserted in the midst of his most extensive treatment of spiritual gifts in I Cor. 12-14. This famous ode to love is not an intrusion upon the concern at hand of some beautiful but irrelevant sentiments. This passage was intended to bear directly on the Corinthian situation.¹

Paul does not regard love as one of the *χαρίσματα*.² It is rather the spirit in which all the gifts are to be exercised in the Christian community. This is not to place love out of relation to the Spirit. On the contrary, when Paul speaks of the "fruit of the Spirit" love is mentioned first (Gal. 5:22). It is no mere human emotion that is in view; it is divine agape.³ It finds its quality and measure supremely in the cross of Christ. It is "poured into our hearts through the Holy Spirit which has been given to us" (Rom. 5:5). The love of which Paul speaks is a supernatural, eschatological reality.⁴

¹ Cf. Barr, "Love in the Church," *SJT*, III (1950), pp. 416f.

² This is evident from the way love is set in contrast to the *χαρίσματα*; vid. I Cor. 12:31b; 13:1ff.; 8f.; 14:1; cf. Weiss, *MK*, p. 310.

³ Cf. Buchsel, op. cit., p. 312: "Liebe ist etwas Göttliches im Menschen, nicht das ideal Menschliche."

⁴ Cf. J. Knox, The Early Church and the Coming Great Church, p. 60, who observes that agape is more than a gift of the Spirit; it is the Spirit.

Paul in glowing language emphasizes the worthlessness of the gifts when exercised without love (I Cor. 13:1-3).¹ It is not difficult to understand why love should be so closely associated with the fruitful employment of the gifts. Love by its very nature focuses on the welfare of others. Consequently, love gives social direction to the exercise of the gifts. Love delivers from the isolation of self-centeredness and places the Christian with his gift in the midst of the body.² Love prevents the use of gifts for selfish and unholy ends. It is the solvent in which pride in one's own gift or jealousy of another's cannot exist. Love forbids the personal exercise of gifts beyond the requirements of group welfare.³ Love alone assures that the gifts will be used to build up the corporate life of the Christian community (cf. I Cor. 8:1). For this reason Paul while encouraging the Corinthians to desire the spiritual gifts enjoins them to make love their aim (I Cor. 14:1).⁴

C. The Significance of Paul's Contribution

As already noted it would be false to the available evidence to assert that Paul was the first to ethicize the conception of the Spirit's workings among men. Nevertheless, Paul did bring a strong emphasis to

¹ Weiss, ME, p. 312, entitles his discussion of this passage: "Die Charismen sind nichts wert ohne Liebe." Paul, however, does not mean to depreciate the gifts as of little value and to exalt love alone as worthwhile as Gunkel, op. cit., p. 70 would seem to suggest. Paul has a genuine appreciation of the place and significance of the χαρίσματα in the life of the church.

² Cf. Barth, op. cit., p. 85.

³ Cf. Gardner, The Religious Experience of St. Paul, pp. 35f.: "The limit of liberty is . . . not a rule, however reasonable, but an enthusiasm. Love makes liberty stop of her own accord."

⁴ Διώκετε τὴν ἀγάπην

bear upon the priority and significance of ethical considerations in connection with Spirit-phenomena in the Christian community. "It is always dangerous in religion," says E. F. Scott, "to put anything above the ethical."¹ Paul was keenly aware that the early church which was constantly tempted to see the hallmark of the Spirit's manifestation in the abnormal and the spectacular might succumb to this error. Paul, to be sure, was not adverse to enthusiasm as something inherently wrong.² He spoke in tongues and claims on one occasion of ecstatic rapture to have been caught up to the third heaven (II Cor. 12:1ff.). But Paul "did not make a Gospel out of such raptures."³ His emphasis on ethical values "does not mean a reduction of the supernatural character of the primitive Christian experience. It is a recognition of the essential quality of the supernatural as revealed in Christ."⁴

Now Paul's refusal to find the criterion of the Spirit's authentic activity in the ecstatic had far reaching consequences. It is difficult, for example, to imagine what might have happened if the unhealthy emphasis on the irrational had been allowed to grow and spread. "Quite conceivably," says A. B. Macdonald, "the Corinthian assembly might have come to be some-

¹ The Spirit in the New Testament, p. 245.

² Cf. W. M. Macgregor, Christian Freedom, p. 390, who cites the charge which an archbishop gave to a certain Indian bishop: "You will not forget that you must do all in your power to put down enthusiasm." Paul, on the contrary, would probably have agreed with R. A. Knox, op. cit., p. 590, when he writes: "... in itself enthusiasm is not a wrong tendency but a false emphasis."

³ History and the Gospel, p. 31.

⁴ Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching, p. 59.

thing like a 'mob of howling dervishes and jump-to-glory Janes.'¹ Indeed, it was the stress on the subordination of the ecstatic gifts to those which were productive for the building up of the Christian community which contributed at least in some measure to the ultimate lapse of the former.

¹ Op. cit., p. 24.

PART III

THE ΧΑΡΙΣΜΑΤΑ IN THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH

INTRODUCTION

The various lists of *χαρίσματα* which are found in the New Testament provide a convenient assemblage of the data with which this study is concerned.¹ A comparison of these several catalogues yields some interesting observations which provide the basis for certain reflections regarding their general character. These may briefly be set down as follows:

1. A casual examination of the various lists will at once reveal that no two of them are alike either in scope or in content. The fullest catalogue is found in I Cor. 12:8ff. which includes nine items: the shortest occurs in I Pet. 4:10f. which enumerates only two gifts.² Some lists include ecstatic and other spectacular gifts while others are confined to less unusual abilities. Furthermore, the enumerations are made from various points of view. Sometimes as in I Cor. 12:8ff. the list is drawn up in terms of abilities or activities while in Eph. 4:11 the categories are those of functioning personalities. The catalogues in I Cor. 12:28f. and Rom. 12:6ff. include both types.³

2. The various lists should not be construed as exhaustive formal catalogues of the charismatic gifts of the apostolic church.⁴ On the

¹ I Cor. 12:8ff.; 26ff.; Rom. 12:6ff.; Eph. 4:11; I Pet. 4:10f.

² These, however, probably should be understood generically; cf. supra

³ In I Cor. 12:28f. Paul passes from personal to abstract terms. The reverse order is followed in Rom. 12:6ff.

⁴ Cf. Wobbe, op. cit., " . . . Ist es unwahrscheinlich dass er alle genannt hat."

contrary, they are informal spontaneous creations and should be regarded as representative rather than definitive. This is clear from the observed differences among the various catalogues.¹ These variations raise the interesting question as to what else Paul might have included among the *Χαρίσματα* had he attempted to give an exhaustive list. But such an attempt would have been incompatible with Paul's understanding of the very nature of the charismatic phenomena.² The church is a living growing organism within the context of changing historical circumstances. Local variations in need would give rise to variations in gifts. The development of new needs would likewise call for the appearance of new gifts or the modification of old ones. Such a fluid situation made it impossible for Paul to furnish a complete and universally normative list of *Χαρίσματα*. This does not mean, however, that the various lists are completely arbitrary. Some of the gifts at least were essential to the very life of the church. The regulative principle which seems to have controlled the composition of the various lists was drawn out of the concept of *Χαρίσματα* itself. ~~That phenomena~~ was included which had some relevance to the building up of the Christian community.

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3. Closely associated with the observation that the *Χαρίσματα* are gifts designed to meet specific needs in the life of the Christian community is the problem of how far the variations in the several lists may reflect differences in the development and character of the various Christian communities addressed. Does the absence of such gifts as

¹ Cf. Robertson and Plummer, *I Cor.*, ICC, xl: "The variations are due to the unstudied spontaneity with which in each passage the enumeration is made." The suggestion of Wetter, *op. cit.*, p. 171, n. 1, that Paul in I Cor. 12 may be following a prepared scheme of gifts does not appear likely.

² Cf. Feine, *op. cit.*, p. 465.

glossolalia, the interpretation of glossolalia, and the discerning of spirits in Rom. 12:6ff, suggest a less enthusiastic type of church life than prevailed at Corinth?¹ Similarly, does the simple two-fold classification of gifts in I Pet. 4:10f. reflect "a very primitive differentiation of function in the church such as meets us in Acts vi rather than in the Pauline Epistles"² or the more elaborate catalogue of Eph. 4:11, a church with a more developed stable ministry?

4. The variation in the listing of gifts in certain instances probably is due more to differences of terminology rather than to a sharp distinction in phenomena. At least it seems clear that whatever the differences may be between such gifts as the utterance of wisdom and the utterance of knowledge they have much in common. Furthermore, it is not easy to see what clear-cut distinction can be made between such gifts as faith, healing and the working of miracles.³ The caution of Bultmann is warranted when he writes that "as a rule the distinction between related gifts must not be too precisely made."⁴

Any scheme of systematic classification of the data presented by the various catalogues must be somewhat arbitrary due to the observations already set out. But in order to avoid repetition and to provide coherence in treatment the material may be correlated and arranged under several general categories. The simplest division is suggested by the two-fold

¹ So J. Knox, The Early Church and the Coming Great Church, p. 28. On the contrary B. B. Warfield, Miracles: Yesterday and Today, pp. 4f., argues that the description of the Corinthian church given in I Cor. 12-14 should be regarded as typical of the apostolic church.

² Selwyn, I Peter, ad. loco.

³ For a tabular correlation of the data provided by the lists in I Cor. 12 and Rom. 12 vid. Weiss, I Cor., MK, p. 299.

⁴ Op. cit., I, p. 154.

scheme of I Pet. 4:10f.; gifts of speech and gifts of deed. More elaborate classifications may be found in the standard commentaries and various other discussions.¹ The following categories will provide the general framework within which the related gifts will be discussed:

I. The *Χαρίσματα* Related to the Ministry of the Word

1. Ἀπόστολος

a. Εὐαγγελιστής

2. Προφήτης (προφητεία)

a. Παρακαλεῖν

3. Διακρίσεις πνευμάτων

4. Διδάσκαλος (διδασκαλία)

a. Λόγος σοφίας

b. Λόγος γνώσεως

II. The *Χαρίσματα* Related to Ecstatic Utterance

1. Γένη γλωσσῶν

2. Ἑρμηνεία γλωσσῶν

III. The *Χαρίσματα* Related to Miracle-Worling

1. Πίστις

2. Ἰάματα

3. Ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεως

IV. The *Χαρίσματα* Related to Practical Service and Leadership

1. Διακονία

2. Μεγαδιδόναι

3. Ἐλπίς

¹ E.g. Hort, op. cit., pp. 157ff.; and P. Schmiedel, EB, cols. 4758f.

4. Ἀντιλήψεις

5. Προϊστάμενοι

6. Κοινωνίες

7. Ποιμένες

CHAPTER I

THE ΧΑΡΙΣΜΑ OF APOSTLESHIP

The term ἀπόστολος occurs in two of the four Pauline lists of χαρίσματα (I Cor. 12:28; Eph. 4:11). In both of these catalogues it stands first in order perhaps suggesting the relative importance assigned to it by the author. It may be noted also that in each case the personalized form is used rather than the abstract ἀποστολή.¹ This preference may help to account for the omission of ἀπόστολος in I Cor. 12:8ff. where the enumeration is made throughout from the point of view of abilities rather than functioning personalities. Although ἀπόστολος does not actually occur in the list of gifts given in Rom. 12:6ff., Paul in introducing the discussion of gifts in this passage employs language which suggests that he thought of his own apostolic commission as a χάρισμα.²

I. THE NATURE OF THE GIFT

The New Testament usage of ἀπόστολος. There is no need to review the Greek and Jewish backgrounds of this term. While these are interesting and to a limited degree helpful, in this case, as in many other instances, the New Testament concept represents a new creation which can best be understood in the context of the Christ-event.³ The term is em-

¹ Paul, however, employs ἀποστολή elsewhere in his letters; e.g. Rom. 1:5; I Cor. 9:2; Gal. 2:8.

² Rom. 12:3: λέγω γὰρ διὰ τῆς χάριτος τῆς δοθείσης μοι.

³ Vid. K. H. Rengstorff, TWNT, I, pp. 406ff. for a full treatment. For the limitations of the Jewish shaliach concept in understanding the Christian apostolate see the remarks of G.W.H. Lampe, "The Early Church and the Ministry," The Modern Churchman, XLI (1951), p. 175; cf. also A. Ehrhardt, The Apostolic Succession, pp. 15ff.; T. W. Manson, The Church's Ministry, pp. 38ff.

ployed in the Synoptic Gospels for the Twelve disciples whom Jesus called to be with Him and whom He later sent out to preach. Mark appears to have applied the title to them only with reference to the typical mission recorded in Mk. 6:7ff., 30.¹ Elsewhere he calls them "the Twelve." Luke uses the term more frequently and apart from specific mission contexts (e.g. Lk. 17:5; 22:14; 24:10). Probably in these instances he uses by anticipation a word which acquired fresh currency after the Resurrection.² Although we may be quite confident that in its Aramaic form the term goes back to Jesus' own use,³ apparently it was not employed as the usual designation for the intimate disciples of Jesus during His ministry. Probably its use was restricted to the particular mission described in Mk. 6:7ff., 30 and perhaps other similar occasions of which we have no record.

Although there is no documentary evidence to support the application of the title to the Seventy who are represented by Luke as having been sent out by Jesus on a missionary tour (Lk. 10:1ff.), it is possible that it was so used. At least the tradition that not only the Twelve but a larger number of disciples were sent out by Jesus as His representatives to preach the good news of the Kingdom would help to account for the wider application of the term in the early church.⁴

¹ The occurrence of ἀποστόλοι in Mk. 3:14, although well attested textually, is generally regarded as an assimilation to the text of Luke 6:14; cf. Taylor, Mark, ad. loc.

² Cf. Hort, op. cit., p. 26.

³ Cf. Bengtsdorf, TNT, I, pp. 427ff.; T. W. Manson, The Teaching of Jesus, p. 240; for the introduction of the Greek term ἀποστόλοι in Christian circles vid. Lake, BC, V, pp. 46ff.

⁴ Flew, op. cit., p. 78. The account of the mission of the Seventy, however, is regarded by some scholars as based on the sending out of the Twelve; cf. Creed, Luke, ad. loc.; Klostermann, TNT, ad. loc.

Frequent use is made of ἀπόστολος in Acts, although all of the occurrences (28) are found in the first sixteen chapters. It is difficult to be certain always in what sense it is employed. J. Y. Campbell would regard all of the occurrences with the exception of Acts 14:4, 14, as referring either to the original Eleven or to the Twelve after Matthias had taken the place of Judas.¹ V. Taylor is not quite so certain.² He would allow that in Acts 1-5 we may be reasonably certain that the original group (and after chapter one also Matthias) is in view. The same degree of certainty, however, cannot be had for the remaining instances. In Acts 14:4, the term is clearly applied to Paul and Barnabas. It is possible that in Acts 15:2, 4, 6, 22f. and 16:4, James may be included with the Twelve.

In the epistles of Paul, ἀπόστολος is not restricted to the Twelve. Paul employs the term, the Twelve, only once.³ Probably the references in Gal. 1:17, 19, look in the direction of the restricted group. It is likely that in the latter reference James the brother of Jesus is also included among the apostles.⁴ If the apostolic status of James is somewhat problematical, it is clear that Paul elsewhere design-

¹ TWB, p. 20.

² Mark, pp. 624.

³ I Cor. 15:5. Weiss, MK, ad. loc., regards the phrase εἰσα γὰρ τῶν δώδεκα, as an interpolation; cf. also his The History of Primitive Christianity, pp. 24, 45, 674. There appears to be no good reason to suspect this reference inasmuch as it occurs in a passage where Paul is transmitting a paradosis. But it is significant that this single reference occurs in such a passage; cf. Lietzmann, HNT, ad. loc.; Robertson and Plummer, ICC, ad. loc.; Parry, CGT, ad. loc.

⁴ So Rengstorff, TWNT, I, p. 422; Burton, ICC, ad. loc.; Lightfoot, Gal., ad. loc.; Lake, BC, V, p. 55. But Schlier, MK, ad. loc.; Duncan, MNTC, ad. loc.; Lindsay, op. cit., p. 81, are inclined to reject such status for James.

nates as apostles persons who were not members of the original restricted group. Andronicus and Junias are referred to as "men of note among the apostles."¹ It is possible that Paul intends to include Silas with himself when he writes to the Thessalonians: " . . . We might have made demands as apostles of Christ."² Included among the witnesses to the resurrection of Christ were "all the apostles" (I Cor. 15:7). This phrase is ambiguous and may include no more than "the twelve" (I Cor. 15:7) plus James.³ More likely, however, this is a reference to a somewhat larger but well-defined group who bore this title in the primitive days of the church.⁴

Paul also speaks of "apostles of churches" who probably are to be understood as persons commissioned by local churches to do missionary service.⁵ Elsewhere he refers to "false apostles."⁶ Such a reference would

¹ Rom. 16:7. So the Greek of this passage is best understood; cf. Michel, MK, ad. locq.

² I Thess. 2:6; vid. Taylor, Mark, p. 625. Some scholars (e.g. Milligan, Thess., ad. locq.; Frame, ICC, ad. locq.; Neil, MNTC, ad. locq.) would also include Timothy in this reference. Paul elsewhere, however, appears to exclude Timothy from apostolic rank; cf. Col. 1:1; II Cor. 1:1. Vid. Lightfoot, Gal., p. 96; Rengstorff, TWNT, I, p. 423.

³ Vid. Holl, Gesammelte Aufsätze, II, p. 48.

⁴ So Lietzmann, HNT, ad. locq.; Moffatt, MNTC, ad. locq.; Lake, BC, V, pp. 55f.; Flew, op. cit., pp. 135f.

⁵ II Cor. 8:23. Cf. Windisch, MK, ad. locq. Perhaps Barnabas, Andronicus, and Junias were apostles in this sense (W. L. Knox, op. cit., p. 367), although it is quite possible that these men may have seen the risen Lord and received a commission from Him. In Phil. 2:25 Epaphroditus is regarded as the apostle of the Colossian church to Paul in prison. Perhaps here we have a slightly different use of the word; cf. J. Knox, Chapters in a Life of Paul, p. 117, n. 3.

⁶ II Cor. 11:13. Probably the "superlative apostles" (II Cor. 11:5, 12:11) are the same persons (Strachan, MNTC, ad. locq.; Filson, IB, X, ad. locq.; Plummer, ICC, ad. locq.) and not as some scholars maintain (Goguel, op. cit., pp. 311f.; J. L. Leuba, New Testament Pattern, p. 157, n. 34) celebrated members of the circle of the Twelve.

indicate that the lines of apostleship were not clearly drawn thus making possible counterfeit claims.

It is clear, of course, from his epistles that Paul regarded himself as an apostle. Nowhere does he claim to be one of the Twelve but he does regard his apostleship as being on a par with theirs. It is evident from his vigorous defense of his apostleship that not all recognized him as an apostle. Even though the leaders of the Jerusalem church seem to have given warm approval to Paul, there were many Jewish Christians in Jerusalem who appear to have been somewhat suspicious of Paul.¹ This would explain the surprising passivity of the Jerusalem church at the time of Paul's arrest. Apparently they did nothing to secure his release.² Evidence is too meager to determine clearly in what sense Luke regarded Paul as an apostle. It is possible in view of the fact that Luke only twice applies the title to Paul (Acts 14:4, 14) and in both cases in a missionary context that he thought of Paul as an apostle in the more general sense of a missionary.³ On the other hand, it is difficult to believe that Luke regarded Paul's role as merely that of another missionary. Luke's threefold account in Acts of Paul's conversion experience with its emphasis upon the appearance of the risen Christ to him and his definite commission to service would suggest that this impressed the mind of the author and was significant to him for the proper understanding of the

¹ Cf. Acts 21:18ff.

² Cf. Goguel, op. cit., pp. 316ff.; W. L. Knox, op. cit., p. 359.

³ Cf. J. Knox, Chapters in a Life of Paul, pp. 118f.; B. S. Easton, "The Purpose of Acts," Early Christianity, ed. by F. C. Grant, pp. 61ff.

person and work of Paul.¹ In any case, it cannot be doubted that Paul regarded his apostleship as rooted in the will of God,² as effected by a direct commission from the glorified Lord,³ and as directed primarily to the Gentiles.⁴

Concerning the use of ἀπόστολος in the remaining New Testament literature little need be said. The apostleship of Paul is reiterated in the Pastorals.⁵ Peter claims apostolic status for himself.⁶ Probably the Twelve are in view in the exhortation to remember "the commandment of the Lord and Saviour through your appstles."⁷ Likely there is a similar reference in Jude 17. There are three occurrences of ἀπόστολος in the Apocalypse. There is a warning against self-styled spurious apostles who were rightly rejected by the church at Ephesus.⁸ The reference to apostles along with saints and prophets, the blessed dead, who are called upon to rejoice over the fall of "Babylon" is indefinite in its scope. Probably, we should allow the term its wider meaning but not excluding

¹ On the general problem of gradation of rank among apostles, vid. Lindsay, op. cit., pp. 81ff. He allows for such a gradation but he insists that it belonged to the sphere of preparation for, manner of call to, and native endowments in the exercise of apostleship rather than to the basic nature and function of apostleship per se. But these circumstantial factors were significant. The Twelve discharged a function in view of their association with Jesus which Paul could not.

² I Cor. 1:1; II Cor. 1:1; Gal. 1:1; Eph. 1:1; Col. 1:1.

³ I Cor. 15:8; Gal. 1:12, 15f.; I Cor. 9:1; cf. Acts 26:16ff.

⁴ Rom. 11:13; Gal. 2:8.

⁵ I Tim. 1:1; 2:7; II Tim. 1:1, 11; Tit. 1:1.

⁶ I Pet. 1:1; cf. II Pet. 1:1.

⁷ II Peter 3:2. Cf. Bigg, ICC, ad. loco.; Moffatt, MNTC, ad. loco.

⁸ Rev. 2:2.

Peter and Paul.¹ The Twelve are clearly in view in Rev. 21:14. Finally, in Heb. 3:1 the title is applied to Jesus. Interestingly enough, the word does not appear in the Fourth Gospel nor in the Johannine epistles.²

In the light of this brief survey, it is readily clear that the term, ἀπόστολος, is used in a variety of ways in the New Testament. It may designate the original Twelve and again the Eleven plus Matthias. The title is claimed by Paul. It probably is applied to James, the brother of Jesus, and perhaps also others of His brethren.³ Barnabas is called an apostle and so are Andronicus and Junias. Perhaps Silas is also entitled to be so regarded. At least once Paul seems to use it in an inclusive sense to refer to a definite but unknown number. There were apostles of churches and false apostles. Not infrequently, as the previous discussion has shown, it is very difficult to determine the precise reference intended.

The criteria of apostleship. The establishment of the criteria by which apostleship was determined in the early church is not easy because of the fluid way in which the term apostle is employed in the New Testament. It is clear from Mark 6:7ff., 30, that the Twelve were originally called apostles by virtue of their commission to go on a missionary tour. After the Resurrection when the Eleven felt constrained to choose a successor to Judas, two qualifications were specified. He must be one who

¹ Rev. 18:20; cf. Moffatt, EGT, V, ad. loco.

² The concept is implicit, however, in such passages as Jno. 15:16; 20:21.

³ I Cor. 9:5; cf. Parry, CGT, ad. loco; Edwards, I Cor. ad. loco. It is quite possible, however, that "the brothers of the Lord" are here distinguished from the apostles; cf. Lietzmann, INT, p. 180, and Kümmel's note, p. 180, S. 40, Z. 28; Godet, I Cor., ad. loco. and Acts 1:13f.

(1) was a pre-Passion disciple of Jesus, and (2) a witness of His Resurrection.¹

Among those who were called apostles who had not been disciples of the historical Jesus the experience of having seen the risen Christ seems to have played an important role. Paul in defending his own apostleship to the Corinthians appeals specifically to the fact that he no less than the Jerusalem apostles had seen the Lord.² It is clear that James also had such an experience.³ Whether Barnabas, Andronicus, Junias and others who were known as apostles saw the resurrected Christ is nowhere explicitly stated. Although scholars rightly caution against building unwarranted generalizations on the basis of Paul's polemical statement in I Cor. 9:1,⁴ nevertheless it is entirely possible that these and others who bore the title apostle had seen the risen Christ. If, as many scholars believe, the phrase, "all the apostles" (I Cor. 15:7), in the catalogue of those to whom the risen Christ appeared refers to a well-defined but more inclusive group than the Twelve, Paul and probably James, then such an experience may be regarded as a sine qua non of apostleship in its broader New Testament usage.⁵

¹ Acts 1:21f. Special stress is placed on the apostles as witnesses of the Resurrection in Acts (e.g. 2:32; 3:15; 4:33; 10:39-41).

² I Cor. 9:1; cf. also Gal. 1:15f.; I Cor. 15:8f.

³ I Cor. 15:7.

⁴ Cf. Lake, BC, V, pp. 50f.; J. Y. Campbell, TWB, p. 20.

⁵ Excluding, of course, those who were merely "apostles of churches" or the usage which occurs in the Didache (11:3ff.) where apostles is synonymous with a wandering prophet or missionary. In support of the above conclusion, vid. Lightfoot, Gal., p. 98; Rengstorff, TWNT, I, p. 431f.; cf. Schweizer, Das Leben des Herrn, p. 73: "Es gibt keinen Apostolat ohne diese besondere Augenzeugenschaft dem Auferstandenen gegenüber." For the view that some apostles may have been witnesses to the Resurrection only as part of the kerygma, vid. Taylor, Mark, pp. 626f.

Not all, however, who were witnesses of the Resurrection necessarily became apostles. In addition to being a witness of the Resurrection, an apostle was one who received a personal commission from Christ.¹ In this connection it should be noted that apostleship was not simply grounded in the commission given to the Twelve (and perhaps the Seventy) during His pre-Passion ministry. It was the appearance and commission of the resurrected Christ which made men apostles.² Various traditions of such a commission given to the apostles are preserved in the New Testament.³ Paul also was conscious of a commission given to him by the risen Christ.⁴ The question may be raised whether this commission necessarily was given personally by Christ, or in certain instances at least, mediated by the church. It would appear that Matthias was called in the latter sense.⁵ Although Paul insists that his apostleship was "not from men, nor through man but through Jesus Christ" (Gal. 1:1), it is possible that he was not generally recognized as an apostle until after some action was taken by

¹ Cf. Héring, CNT, p. 70. This may be the distinction between the appearance of Christ to the five hundred brethren and to those designated apostles (I Cor. 15:6f.); cf. Schlatter, Paulus, p. 399; H. von Campenhausen, Kirchliches Amt und geistliche Vollmacht, p. 24.

² Rengstorff, TWNT, I, p. 431.

³ Luke 24:44ff.; Acts 1:2 (D text); 1:8, 10:41f.; Matt. 28:19f.; John 21:15ff. The exact form may be beyond recovery but the fact of such a commission cannot be doubted; cf. S. E. Johnson, IB, VII, p. 621.

⁴ Gal. 1:15f.; cf. Acts 26:15ff.; Acts 13:1ff.

⁵ Acts 1:24-26 may be understood as emphasizing the direct choice of Matthias by the ascended Christ. But the action initiated by the church on this occasion would seem to have been predicated on the conviction that the apostolic band must number twelve and not upon a divinely given directive.

the church such as at Antioch¹ or perhaps earlier.² We possess no information on this point for such men as Andronicus, Junias and others.

Paul elsewhere speaks of τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ ἀποστόλου which authenticate a true commission and which he performed among the Corinthians.³ These signs lay apparently in the area of miraculous deeds as the remainder of the verse would seem to indicate. In view of the fact that not only apostles were able to perform miracles, it is difficult to see how this ability is regarded as a sign of genuine apostleship.⁴ The difficulty is relieved somewhat when it is remembered that Paul is forced to defend his apostolic status in the face of derogatory attack and appeals very reluctantly to such outward demonstrable evidence which apparently was pushed by his opponents.⁵ It should be noted, however, that Paul does not ground his apostolic office in such miraculous deeds; they are merely one of the signs of the validity of his apostleship. As such, they do have value. The divine power which wrought in Jesus during the days of His ministry and in the Jerusalem apostles as reported in the early chapters of Acts was at work also in Paul. The context of

¹ Acts 13:1ff.; cf. Lightfoot, Gal. p. 98; Easton, "Purpose of Acts," Early Christianity, pp. 59f. It may be significant that Luke does not apply the term ἀπόστολος to Paul until after this incident, Acts 14:4, 14. He is called a prophet and/or teacher in Acts 13:1.

² Acts 9:30; 11:22; cf. W. L. Knox, op. cit., p. 363.

³ II Cor. 12:12 (cf. Rom. 15:18ff.); vid. also Windisch, MK, ad. loc.; Rengstorff, TWNT, I, p. 434.

⁴ I Cor. 12:28f. would suggest that some who were not apostles performed miracles; cf. also Acts 6:8; 8:6.

⁵ The phrase τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ ἀποστόλου probably was a slogan Paul's opponents were using; cf. Kümmel's note on this passage in Lietzmann, BNT, p. 213, S. 158, Z. 3. In I Cor. 9:2 Paul speaks of the Corinthian Christians as ἡ σφραγὶς μου τῶν ἀποστόλων.

Paul's allusion to miracles in II Cor. 12:12 strongly accents his human weakness in the midst of which the signs of the new age were manifested.¹ The supernatural world was projecting itself in history in the life of Paul thereby authenticating his ministry.

Apostles and evangelists. The term εὐαγγελιστής occurs only once in the various catalogues of spiritual gifts in the New Testament (Eph. 4:11). There can be no doubt that reference is made to those who exercised a missionary vocation in the early church. In this respect they shared a common task with the apostles. Indeed, A. C. Headlam has suggested that the term evangelist may have been "an alternate name for those who were called apostles."² In Eph. 4:11, however, apostles also are mentioned alongside of the evangelists suggesting that some distinction existed between the two groups. While all apostles were evangelists, not all evangelists were apostles. Apostles were distinguished both by an appearance of the risen Christ to them and the reception of a commission from Him. Thus the evangelist in the technical sense was a missionary who was not an apostle.³

Apart from Eph. 4:11 εὐαγγελιστής occurs only twice in the New Testament. Philip is called an evangelist in Acts 21:8 (cf. 8:4f., 12, 35, 40). In II Tim. 4:5 Timothy is urged to "do the work of an evangelist" (cf. I Thess. 3:2; Phil. 2:22). The infrequency of the term, however,

¹ Cf. Wendland, NTD, VV, ad. loc.

² "The Origin of the Christian Ministry," The Ministry and the Sacraments, ed. by Dunkerly, p. 329.

³ Vid. Harnack, op. cit., I, p. 338; cf. Dibelius, HNT on Eph. 4:11 where εὐαγγελιστᾶς are described as "Leute mit Aposteltätigkeit ohne Apostelnamen."

would not warrant the assumption that evangelists were few in the early church. Probably they are in view in such passages as Phil. 4:3; II Cor. 8:18; Col. 1:7; 4:12. Doubtless the rapid spread of the gospel in the Roman Empire of the first century was in no small measure due to the dedicated service of men whose names are lost to us but who were both charismatically endowed and felt an irresistible inner call to preach the gospel.

If evangelists were missionaries, it should not be assumed that they engaged exclusively in itinerant preaching. There was much evangelism to be done in the local Christian community. Perhaps, in some cases, leaders in a community may also have been called evangelists.¹ Although evangelists must have existed in the church from the beginning, it is possible in view of the fact that they are included only in the Ephesian catalogue of gifts that they were only gradually distinguished from other preachers of the Word.²

The meaning of ἀπόστολος in I Cor. 12:28f. and Eph. 4:11.

Unfortunately no clear answer to this question is provided by the passages themselves. Four possible interpretations are open to us. Reference may be to (1) the Twelve; (2) the Twelve plus Paul and possibly James; (3) apostles in a more inclusive sense (i.e. including all who had seen the risen Christ and had received a commission from Him); (4) apostles in the most comprehensive sense which would include missionaries such as

¹ So G. Friedrich, TWNT, II, p. 735, would understand II Tim. 4:5; cf. v. 2. Timothy, however, also did itinerant missionary preaching. In any case, the term denotes a function rather than a formal office; cf. Flew, op. cit., p. 144.

² Cf. Grau, op. cit., pp. 253f.

come to our attention, for example, in the Didache.¹

Catholic scholars exclude a reference to Paul and the original apostles and would understand the term in the sense of missionary.²

Calvin, on the contrary, would restrict its meaning to the Twelve and Paul presumably on the grounds that only these could be witnesses to the Resurrection and, therefore, be genuine apostles.³ Robertson and Plummer would not limit the reference too narrowly taking it in the sense of number three above.⁴ T. M. Lindsay favors the most comprehensive reference.⁵

In view of Paul's use of ἀπόστολος in a more inclusive sense than just the Twelve, himself and probably James, there seems to be no warrant for restricting the reference to this group either in I Cor. 12:28 or Eph. 4:11.⁶ It would seem best to follow Robertson and Plummer and regard the reference as including all who had seen the risen Christ and had received a commission from Him.

¹ 11:3-6. For the view that the apostles mentioned in the Didache were missionaries, vid. Campenhausen, op. cit., p. 25; Guy, op. cit., pp. 174f.; Weiss, The History of Primitive Christianity, p. 678. On the use of "apostle" in the Apostolic Fathers in general see Harnack, The Mission and Expansion of Christianity, I, pp. 325ff.; Lightfoot, Gal., pp. 99f.

² So J. Wobbe, op. cit., p. 74; J. Brosch, op. cit., pp. 98-109; F. Prat, The Theology of St. Paul, I, p. 424.

³ CC on I Cor. 12:28; cf. Edwards, I Cor., ad. locq.

⁴ ICC, ad. locq.; cf. also Grau, op. cit., pp. 250ff.; Parry, CGT, ad. locq.

⁵ Op. cit., pp. 85f.; cf. Lietzmann on I Cor. 12:28.

⁶ For the indefiniteness attaching to the use of "apostles" in Eph. 4:11, vid. J. A. Robinson, Eph., ad. locq.; Abbott, ICC, ad. locq.

II. APOSTLESHIP AS A ΧΑΡΙΣΜΑ

Although Paul on more than one occasion vigorously defended his claim to apostleship, he nowhere explicitly refers to it as a *χάρισμα*. Perhaps one reason why he does not do so is that he did not regard it merely as a *χάρισμα* on a par with other gifts in the church. If the criteria of apostleship which were noted above are valid, then it follows that it is conditioned by certain unique and limiting historical factors which to some extent distinguish it from other *χαρίσματα*. Nevertheless, apostleship is brought by Paul within the sphere of *χάρισμα*. An attempt must now be made to understand why it was thus included.¹

In the first place, apostleship may rightly be called a *χάρισμα* because of its "given" character. The note of "given-ness" is stressed in the context of both lists where apostles are mentioned: "God has appointed in the church first apostles . . ." (I Cor. 12:28); similarly, "And his [Christ] gifts were that some should be apostles" (Eph. 4:11). These assertions clearly indicate that the initiative lying behind apostleship is rooted outside of man himself. This emphasis is consistently supported by the evidence of the New Testament. In the Synoptic account of the commissioning of the Twelve as apostles, Jesus is represented as assuming the initiative (Mk. 6:7ff.).² The Fourth Gospel, likewise, stresses this note of call when on the night before His death Jesus said to His disciples: "You did not choose me but I chose you and

¹ For a detailed treatment of apostleship as a *χάρισμα* *vid.* E. Haupt, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-134.

² Cf. also the commissioning of the Seventy, Luke 10:1ff.

appointed you that you should go and bear fruit" (Jno. 15:16). Indeed, the very word apostle implicitly emphasizes the action and authority of a superior who stands behind the one commissioned. The divine initiative is prominently to the fore in Paul's consciousness of apostleship. In Galatians his call to be an apostle is set against the background of a life bent on destroying the church of God (Gal. 1:11f.). Repeatedly he speaks of himself as "called to be an apostle of Jesus Christ" (I Cor. 1:1; Rom. 1:1) or as an apostle "by the will of God" (II Cor. 1:1; Gal. 1:1; Eph. 1:1; Col. 1:1. Cf. I Tim. 1:1, II Tim. 1:1). Grace and apostleship appear to be correlative terms in Rom. 1:6 and Gal. 2:8f. In I Cor. 15:9f. he describes himself as "the least of the apostles" indeed "unfit to be called an apostle" because of his persecution of the church. But the grace of God called him to this role and made him what he was (cf. I Tim. 1:12ff.). The evidence of his epistles is also confirmed by the accounts of his conversion and commission in Acts (9:1ff.; 22:4ff.; 26:9ff.) where the divine initiative is clearly evident. Paul is an apostle not by his own choosing but by the action of sovereign grace. Apostleship is a grace-gift and may, therefore, appropriately be called a *χάρισμα*.

In the second place, apostleship belongs to the *χάρισματά* because of its service character in extending and building up the church. The apostles were primarily missionaries.¹ It was in a missionary context that the title was first applied to them (Mk. 6:7ff., 30). To this

¹ Rengstorff, *TWNT*, I, pp. 432, remarks that the missionary element fundamentally differentiates New Testament apostleship from the Jewish institution of the sheluchim.

role also they were commissioned by the risen Lord.¹ The proclamation of the Word belongs to the essence of the apostolate.² It is as preachers that Peter and his fellow apostles come to our attention in the early chapters of Acts.³ And what is true of the Jerusalem apostles may also be said of Paul. He knew that the apostleship which he had received was with a view to missionary service especially to the Gentiles (Rom. 1:5, 11:13). A divine constraint was laid upon him which he could not shirk without due consequences (I Cor. 9:16f.). He did not regard his call to preach the gospel merely as a duty but rather as a privilege in which he never ceased to glory (Eph. 3:7ff.). To this task he gave himself without reserve (I Cor. 15:10; Col. 1:25-29) making it his special ambition to preach the gospel where it had not been proclaimed (Rom. 15:20). This sense of missionary vocation is confirmed in Acts both by the accounts of his conversion where the commission to carry the gospel to the Gentiles is clearly stressed (Acts 26:16ff.; cf. 22:14f.) and also by the strenuous missionary activities to which his three extended tours bear witness.⁴

If Paul was entrusted with an apostleship to the Gentiles, Peter was similarly entrusted with an apostleship to the Jews (Gal. 2:7f.). As already noted Peter was active as a preacher in Jerusalem in the earliest

¹ Luke 24:47f.; Acts 1:8; Matt. 28:18ff.; Jno. 20:21ff. The accounts differ but the very variety of the traditions attests the certainty of the fact; cf. S. E. Johnson, IB, VII, p. 621.

² Campenhausen, op. cit., p. 23: "Wir kennen keinen Apostel, der nicht zugleich Missionar gewesen wäre." Lindsay, op. cit., p. 81, by this very canon is inclined to doubt the right of James, the brother of Jesus, to be called an apostle.

³ E.g. Acts 2:14ff.; 3:11f.; 4:8ff.; 31; 5:21, 29ff., 42; 6:2ff.

⁴ Cf. also Rom. 15:19, 24, 28.

days of the church. But his missionary activities were not confined to the Jewish capital. He travelled elsewhere in Palestine preaching the gospel (Acts 9:32; 10:1-11:16). Due to the persecution directed against the church by Herod Agrippa I, Peter was obliged to leave Jerusalem (Acts 12:17). So far as the account in Acts is concerned, Peter appears again only once in Jerusalem (Acts 15:7).¹ His subsequent movements, however, are obscure. Once he visited Antioch (Gal. 2:11).² From the cryptic reference in I Cor. 9:5 we may suppose that Peter, during the years that followed his withdrawal from Jerusalem, undertook extensive missionary journeys.³ It is possible that he was active in evangelizing the northern tier of provinces in Asia Minor, the locale to which the First Epistle of Peter was addressed.⁴ It is possible that at sometime he visited Corinth⁵ and ultimately Rome.⁶

Regarding the activity of the remaining members of the Twelve, the apostle John perhaps excepted, we know virtually nothing.⁷ It is not likely, however, that they were inactive or continued indefinitely in

¹ On the theory that Acts 15 is to be distinguished from the famine visit of chapter 11:27ff.

² For the later ecclesiastical tradition that Peter was bishop of Antioch, cf. Eus., III, 36.2 and Weiss, The History of Primitive Christianity, p. 766.

³ Cullmann, Peter, p. 42: "The comparison with Barnabas and Paul shows what is to be supplied: 'on their missionary journeys.'"

⁴ I Pet. 1:1. Cf. Selwyn, I Peter, p. 45.

⁵ Vid. Cullmann, Peter, pp. 53ff., for recent literature and discussion. Cf. also Lake, Earlier Epistles of St. Paul, pp. 112ff.; Selwyn, I Peter, p. 61.

⁶ For exhaustive discussion consult Cullmann, Peter, chap. III.

⁷ Traditions regarding the apostles are conveniently assembled by B. H. Streeter, op. cit., chaps. I, II; E. J. Goodspeed, The Twelve. For the apostle John, vid. also C. K. Barrett, The Gospel According to John, pp. 83-88.

Jerusalem. It is significant that three years after his conversion, Paul found among the apostles in Jerusalem only Peter and James, the Lord's brother (likely regarded as an apostle).¹ It is not an improbable assumption that the rest were away from the city on missionary tours.

Apostleship, however, should not be interpreted too narrowly as consisting merely in the missionary proclamation of the kerygma. The apostles not only extended the church; they also contributed to its internal development and upbuilding. If the apostles were missionaries, the varied character of their work can best be understood by comparison with the task of the modern Christian missionary.² Thus to kerygma must be added didache. The word that was planted as seed in the soil needed to be nurtured until it produced mature Christian character. This also was part of the work of the Christian apostle. Paul speaks in II Cor. 11:28 of "the daily pressure upon me of my anxiety for all the churches." This should not be construed as referring primarily to the burden of administrative responsibilities. Paul is thinking rather of his anxious concern for the total welfare of the various Christian centers which had a claim on his thought and sympathy.³ How keenly this sense of responsibility was felt is illustrated in his anxiety for the Corinthian church as revealed in II Cor. 2:12f. and 7:5ff. Similarly, his concern for the welfare of the Thessalonian church is reflected in I Thess. 3:1ff. and

¹ Gal. 1:18f. This statement does not appear to agree with Acts 9:27 unless the "apostles" of the latter passage are only two in number. If Luke is misinformed, or the reference is only to the two cited in Gal. 1:18ff., the evidence for the continued residence of the Twelve in Jerusalem disappears.

² Cf. T. W. Manson, The Church's Ministry, pp. 36f.

³ Plummer, ICC, ad. loc.

for the Galatian churches in Gal. 4:19. His pastoral ambition was to "present every man mature in Christ. For this," he says, "I toil, striving with all the energy which he mightily inspired within me," (Col. 1:28f.). The pastoral side of Paul's apostolic ministry found expression through various channels. He spent prolonged periods in various centers nurturing Christian faith and character (Acts 18:11, 18; 20:31). He made repeated personal visits to various communities (Acts 14:21f., 15:36, 41). He wrote letters some of which have been preserved for us and on other occasions sent personal deputies, such as Timothy (I Thess. 3:1ff.) and Titus (II Cor. 2:12f., 7:5ff.) to visit churches. He engaged in unceasing intercessory prayer for his far-flung parish (Col. 1:9ff.; Phil. 1:3ff.; Eph. 1:15ff.). Paul believed that the Lord had given him authority for building up the church and he was diligent in its use (II Cor. 13:10).

Peter, likewise, discharged a pastoral ministry as is evident by the letter from his pen preserved for us in our New Testament. It was designed to encourage Christians in faith and discipleship in view of impending persecution. Tradition records a similar pastoral ministry on the part of John in Ephesus in the latter part of the first century.

In light of the foregoing evidence, it is clear that apostleship bears the earmarks of a *χάρισμα*. It is a service ability granted by God to men for the purpose of extending and building up the body of Christ. But, as already suggested, it is a unique *χάρισμα*. "The apostolate," said J. Weiss, "is the first and most important charisma."¹ Its importance is to be seen in the special relation which the apostles

¹ The History of Primitive Christianity, p. 677.

sustain to the Christ-event and the significance of their witness for the faith and life of the church. Both by virtue of their historical proximity to the Incarnation and their special call to be witnesses, they were enabled to provide the authoritative testimony upon which the church's faith rests.¹ Apostleship therefore may appropriately be described as "the *χαρίσματα* of church-founding."² This special unrepeatable function of apostleship serves to place this *χαρίσμα* in a category by itself among the gifts given to the early church.

¹ Cf. Eph. 2:20. Within the apostolate the Twelve played a special role. In addition to being witness to the resurrection of Christ they provided the bond of continuity in the Christian community between the risen and the historical Jesus; cf. Cullmann, Peter, p. 216.

² Lauterburg, op. cit., p. 53; vid. the discussion of this point by Campenhausen, op. cit., pp. 24f., and especially the remark of Cullmann in Peter, pp. 215ff. and his essay, "The Tradition," The Early Church, pp. 75ff. Attention may be called to J. Munck's (Paulus und die Heilsgeschichte, chap. II) stimulating interpretation of Paul's conception of the eschatological significance of his apostleship. According to this scholar Paul was convinced that the consummation of all things depended on the effectiveness of his work as the apostle to the Gentiles.

CHAPTER II

THE ΧΑΡΙΣΜΑ OF PROPHECY

The appearance of prophets and prophecy in the apostolic church was not a wholly new phenomenon in the ancient world. Prophetism was the glory of centuries of Hebrew history. Although it was not an officially recognized feature of first century Judaism, it was not entirely unknown among the Jews even in this period.¹ It had long been a part also of the religious life of paganism.² H. A. Guy, after surveying the evidence of the Jewish, Greek, Roman, and Mystery religions, concludes that "in the first century prophetism was 'in the air.'"³ The Christian prophet, however, is not to be identified either with his Jewish or pagan contemporary. Careful inquiry, therefore, must be made into the precise character of the New Testament phenomenon.

I. THE NATURE OF CHRISTIAN PROPHECY

Prophecy was based on Apocalypse. In the ancient world a *προφήτης* was one who proclaimed and interpreted the divine will.⁴ The prophet was not a completely autonomous figure. He supposedly spoke a "given" word in the name of another. Thus, for example, the prophet at the oracular shrine of Apollo at Delphi interpreted and proclaimed the revelation made by the god through the *μάντις*.⁵ The Hebrews had no *μάντις* but the prophet in their midst also purported to speak the word which God

¹ Infra p. 186, n. 1.

² The evidence is conveniently assembled by Guy, op. cit., chap. V; cf. E. Fascher, *προφήτης*, chaps. I, II, and IV.

³ Op. cit., p. 141.

⁴ Cf. Liddell and Scott, op. cit., s.v.

⁵ Plato, Tim. 72A; cf. also Aesch. Eum. 19; Herodt. VIII. 36, 37.

had vouchsafed to him for the benefit of his people.¹ Revelation, in some sense, therefore, was presupposed in the conception of the prophet's function both among the Greeks and in Hebrew society.

Now this connection between apocalypse and prophecy is sustained in the New Testament. With special reference to the early church, C. Weizsäcker says, "Prophecy without the reception of a revelation there was none."² The revelational base of prophecy is clearly illustrated in Paul's direction to the Corinthians: "Let two or three prophets speak . . . If a revelation is made to another sitting by, let the first be silent" (I Cor. 14:29f.). Elsewhere the relationship between prophecy and revelation may also be seen. It seems best, for example, to construe the four terms in I Cor. 14:6 in two pairs which parallel each other.³ Thus "revelation or knowledge" is paralleled by "prophecy or teaching" and the first pair represent the internal gifts of which the last pair are the external manifestation. Revelation, therefore, lies behind prophecy just as knowledge is the basis of teaching.⁴ It is possible also that apocalypse takes the place of prophecy in I Cor. 14:26.⁵ Finally,

¹ Cf. the frequently occurring phrase, "The word of the Lord came to . . ." I Sam. 15:10; I Kings 18:1; Jer. 1:4; Ezk. 1:3.

² The Apostolic Age, II, p. 267. Cf. also Glo³l, op. cit., p. 327; Cullmann, Early Christian Worship, p. 20. Since prophecy rested upon revelation the true prophet could not make a "calling" out of his prophetic gift. He had to await the moment of revelation before he could speak. This was one of the marks which distinguished the true prophet from the false; cf. H. Bacht, "Wahres und falsches Prophetentum," Biblica, XXXII (1951), p. 259.

³ Ἐάν μὴ ὑμῖν λαλήσω ἢ ἐν ἀποκαλύψει ἢ ἐν γνώσει ἢ ἐν προφητεῖα ἢ ἐν διδαχῇ

⁴ So Robertson and Plummer, ICC, ad. locq.; cf. Weiss, MK, ad. locq. Schlatter, Paulus, p. 375.

⁵ Cf. Guy, op. cit., p. 105.

in Eph. 3:4f. Paul refers to "the mystery of Christ" which was hitherto unknown but "has now been revealed to his holy apostles and prophets by the Spirit." Thus the apostles and prophets were the organs of revelation by which the truth that the Gentiles are fellow heirs of the promise in Christ Jesus was made known to men.

The fact that prophecy rested on revelation does not mean, however, that all revelation necessarily issued in prophecy. Paul speaks in II Cor. 12:1ff. of "visions and revelations" and then proceeds to describe one such experience out of his past life.¹ But he states explicitly that in this experience "he heard things which cannot be told, which man may not utter" (v. 4).² Neither does the dependence of prophecy on revelation mean that the utterances of the prophets were always novel in the sense that they announced new truths. Certainly, as will be seen, the prophets did contribute to the church's stock of spiritual knowledge. They also announced impending events and issued specific directions for the guidance of the church's life. But ἀποκαλύψεις stresses primarily the "given-ness" and the "immediate-ness" of the word rather than its novelty. God was active in the process but at times undoubtedly He brought a known word to bear upon the life of the church to meet a particular need just as He did through the prophets of the old covenant.

Prophecy was "Inspired" speech. If prophecy presupposed revelation, it was also characterized by evident inspiration. Ecstasy, the hallmark

¹ "Ὁπτασίαι und ἀποκαλύψεις sind beinahe synonyme Wendungen," Windisch, MK, ad. loc.

² Guy, op. cit., p. 100, doubts "if this experience may rightly be placed alongside those of the Christian prophets. It is more akin to those of the mystics conveying a revelation meant for the individual, not to be passed on to other men." Cf. also Gal. 2:2.

of inspiration, was frequently associated with prophecy in the ancient world. The nebi'im of early Old Testament history like their Canaanite contemporaries were ecstatic prophets.¹ If modern scholarship tends to be critical of the view that ecstasy was of the esse of Hebrew prophecy, there can be little doubt that throughout its history it was characterized by a strain of psychological abnormality.² Ecstasy also played a prominent role in the revelation granted at the oracular shrines of Greece and in the practice of the oriental cults of the Graeco-Roman world. The priests of these cults frequently delivered their messages in a state of ecstasy.³

Prophecy is closely associated with ecstatic utterance in two passages in Acts. The first of these is the Pentecostal narrative (Acts 2:1-21). It is generally assumed that the phenomenon which attended the outpouring of the Spirit may be identified as glossolalia.⁴ Luke, or his source, however, strongly suggests that it be understood as prophecy. Not only is the phenomenon regarded as a fulfillment of Joel 2:28ff. which specifically refers to prophecy as the consequence of the eschatological bestowal of the Spirit, but this feature is highlighted by the

¹ I Sam. 10:5f., 10f.; 19:18-24; I Kings 18:26-29; 22:6-12. Attention may also be called to the ecstatic experiences of the exilic prophet Ezekiel (1:4ff.; 8:1ff.; 10:18f.; 11:1ff.; 37:1ff.).

² For a careful discussion of this problem see N. W. Porteous, "Prophecy," Record and Revelation, ed. by H. W. Robinson, pp. 224ff.; cf. H. H. Rowley, "The Nature of Prophecy in the Light of Present Study," HTR (1945), pp. 1-38; H. Knight, The Hebrew Prophetic Consciousness. For the view that Hebrew prophecy was ecstatic throughout its history see T. H. Robinson, Prophecy and the Prophets. H. W. Robinson, Redemption and Revelation, p. 140, prefers the term "abnormal" to "ecstatic" because the latter corresponds more properly with Greek rather than Hebrew psychology.

³ Cf. Guy, op. cit., p. 139.

⁴ Vid. infra pp. 241ff.

addition of the phrase *καὶ πρὸς φητεῖσθαι* (v. 18). This phrase is found neither in the Hebrew nor the LXX texts of the Joel passage.¹

The second instance is found in Acts 19:6. The twelve Ephesian disciples having been baptized "in the name of the Lord Jesus" and having had hands laid upon them received the Spirit and "they spoke with tongues and prophesied." This is regarded by some as evidence that Luke probably did not distinguish between glossolalia and prophecy.²

The experience of ecstasy is associated with prophecy in the Apocalypse. No less than four times in the book the phrase *ἐν πνεύματι* occurs in such a way as to indicate clearly some sort of ecstatic experience on the part of the author who regards himself as a prophet (Rev. 22:9).³ Furthermore, attention may be called to the Didache which assumes that prophets spoke in a state of ecstasy.⁴ Also the account by Apollinarius of the utterances of the Montanist prophets points to a form of speech which alternated between coherent and ecstatic utterance.⁵

Both the Biblical and extra-Biblical evidence just cited might suggest that prophecy in the early church was basically ecstatic utterance.

¹ Cf. J.V. Bartlet, *NCB* on Acts 2:18; G.H.C. Macgregor, *IB*, IX, 141. On the details of the textual problem see J.H. Ropes in *BC*, III, 16ff.; cf. also IV, 21f.; Haenchen, *MK*, p. 147, n. 2; F.F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles*, *ad. loco*. On the confusion of prophecy with glossolalia in the early days of the church see Guy, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

² E.g. A. Loisy, *Les Acts des Apôtres*, *ad loco*: "Le redacteur ne distingue pas aussi nettement que Paul le don des langues du don de prophetie."

³ Rev. 1:10; 4:2; 17:3; 21:10; cf. also H. B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John*, xxiii, n. 1; M. Kiddle, *MNTC*, xxv.

⁴ 11:7: *καὶ πάντα προφήτην λαλοῦντα ἐν πνεύματι οὐ πειράσεται οὐδὲ διακρινεῖται*

⁵ *Eus.*, V. 16; cf. W. L. Knox, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

It is clear, however, from Paul's discussion of prophecy in I Cor. 14 that although he regarded it as inspired speech he clearly distinguished it from glossolalia. Prophecy was rational, coherent, and intelligible utterance. A. B. Davidson has observed that there were varying degrees of prophetic inspiration in the Old Testament and certainly the same was true in the early church.¹ Doubtless there were times when under the pressure of mounting emotion prophetic utterance would tend to pass over into the ecstatic. For Paul, however, such utterance was to be regarded no longer as prophecy but as glossolalia.

Prophecy in the early church may be regarded basically as inspired but intelligible speech. If there is some evidence in Acts for a confusion of glossolalia and prophecy and in the Apocalypse for associating ecstasy with prophecy, this does not represent the central thrust of the New Testament data. There is no explicit evidence that such prophets as Agabus, Judas, Silas or those associated with the Antiochene church exercised their gift in the state of ecstasy. Even in the Apocalypse, as H. B. Swete says:

'ecstasy' was not the only manifestation of the prophetic Spirit and perhaps not the ordinary one The order of prophets knew itself now to be charged with the great duty of bearing witness to Jesus, the very function of the Spirit itself; for as St. John adds, the witness of Jesus is the Spirit of prophecy, i. e., the two are in practice identical.²

Was prophecy apocalyptic in character? If Christian prophecy was based on apocalypse the question naturally arises: What was the content of these apocalypses? Did they deal exclusively with matters pertaining

¹ Old Testament Prophecy, pp. 121f.

² The Holy Spirit in the New Testament, pp. 277f.

to the eschatological hopes of the church or were they more diverse in character?

W. L. Knox has strongly emphasized the eschatological orientation of Christian prophecy. He writes as follows:

Normally then Christian prophecy seems to follow the lines of the apocalyptic writings which have survived to us from the Judaism of the period and the oral prophecies which were current among the less educated Jews of Palestine. It combines the moral and religious functions inherited by such writers from the older prophets with their habit of identifying current events with the signs of the coming end of all things no doubt . . . it varied in its contents between predictions of the end which had no particular reference to the conduct and belief of the Christian and solemn warnings to Christian holiness, based on the assumption that the end was imminent.¹

Undoubtedly, eschatological interests played an important role in Christian prophecy. This is only to be expected in light of the general outlook and mood of the early church. Just as the early church came to regard the function of the Old Testament prophets as predictive of the Messiah and his work,² so they likewise looked to the Christian prophets in their midst for some word regarding the return of the Lord and the speedy consummation of their Messianic hopes. Specific impetus for such prophetic activity may well have been supplied by certain threats and actual crises in the life of the church. Philip Carrington has suggested that the attempt of Caligula to set up his image in the temple in Jerusalem in A.D. 40 may have brought into existence the Christian school of prophecy, the church seeing in Caligula the new Antiochus predicted by

¹ Op. cit., p. 37.

² Cf. I Pet. 1:10-12. Although Selwyn, I Peter, pp. 133-138, 259-268, argues that Christian prophets are in view here, the traditional view still commends itself as the more probable.

Jesus (Mk. 13:14).¹

The orientation of Christian prophecy to the coming Parousia, however, is more than a presumption. It may be documented from the literature of the New Testament itself. The supreme example, of course, is the Apocalypse of John. The author regards himself as a Christian prophet (Rev. 22:9; cf. 10:9) and the materials of the book are explicitly called a prophecy (Rev. 1:3; 22:7, 19). Although in literary style it is strongly reminiscent of Jewish apocalypses, its standpoint is Christian. It is concerned with the eschatological hope of the church.

Elsewhere also the relation of Christian prophecy to eschatology may be discerned. Attention may be called in particular to three passages in Paul's letters. (1) In Rom. 11:25f. Paul is dealing with the destiny of Israel in relation to the heilsgeschichtliche purpose of God. Will Israel ultimately be saved? In answer to this question Paul proceeds to unfold a mystery (μυστήριον): "A hardening has come upon part of Israel, until the full number of the Gentiles come in, and so all Israel will be saved." It is clear that Paul is here speaking of "a truth given by special revelation, rather than deduced by argument"² even though Paul proceeds to support it by quotation from the Old Testament. This does not mean that the apprehension of this truth came to him in vacuo

¹ The Meaning of the Revelation, p. 58; he would associate the rise of Agabus and his fellow prophets with this event (Acts 11:27f.). Cf. W. L. Knox, op. cit., pp. 36f., 166, 172 and Beyer, NTD, V, p. 73 (with reservation) for an interpretation of the Agabus prophecy in apocalyptic terms.

² Dodd, MNTC, ad. locq. He observes that behind Paul's use of the Old Testament is "a religious intuition" which provides the starting point of his exposition; cf. Nygren, Romans, p. 404. Michel, MK, ad. locq., says that μυστήριον designates "eine apokalyptische Weisheit, die zur Prophetie gehört."

apart from a pondering of the relation of Israel's unbelief to the promise included in her divine election.¹ But the truth nonetheless is "given" rather than the product of mere human speculation.

(2) Paul employs *μυστήριον* again in connection with a particular eschatological truth which he elaborates in I Cor. 15:51ff. Not all Christians will undergo the experience of death but those who are alive at the Parousia will be changed. This is a special prophetic word which Paul as apostle-prophet felt commissioned to impart to the Corinthian church.²

(3) Although Paul does not use the term *μυστήριον* in I Thess. 4:15, doubtless we have here another instance of prophetic revelation having to do with the Parousia. The Thessalonians were troubled over the fate of Christians among them who had already died. What part will they have in the blessings which will attend the final eschatological drama? Into Paul's answer we need not go. It is enough to note that Paul's reply is given as "a word of the Lord." This may mean that Paul is referring to some unrecorded saying of Jesus. But since the whole passage (vv. 15-17) reflects current Jewish apocalyptic ideas, it is more likely that we should see here an interpretation of such materials to meet the situation at hand and made under the direct guidance of the Spirit as a prophetic revelation.³

Apart from these examples from Paul, some scholars see traces of

¹ This point is emphasized by Bornkamm, *TWNT*, IV, p. 829.

² Parry, *CGT*, ad. loc^o, speaks of this as "another instance of *προφητεία*." Cf. Moffatt, *MNTC*, ad. loc^o.

³ G. Milligan, *Thess.* ad. loc^o; W. Neil, *MNTC*, ad. loc^o.

Christian prophetism in the apocalyptic discourse of Mark 13.¹ M. Dibelius regards II Peter 3:2ff. as an apocalyptic production of a second century author who attempted to provide the literary reference for Jude 17f.² A prophetic utterance dealing with the end times by some unknown Christian prophet is probably referred to in I Timothy 4:1. It is possible also that the Freer Logion found in the fifth century manuscript W at Mark 16:14 may represent the attempt of a Christian prophet in the second century to explain "why the message of God made slow progress in the world and why even the chosen showed "unbelief and hardness of heart."³

Christian prophecy thus dealt with matters related to the end of the age and the Parousia.⁴ But it should be noted that its purpose in doing so was not speculative but practical and religious. Even in the Apocalypse of John which in many ways closely resembles Jewish apocalyptic literature the aim is essentially practical. "It is indeed remarkable," writes Martin Kiddle, "how consistently John adheres to his main pastoral purpose, and bends the apocalyptic medium to serve that purpose throughout the whole book."⁵ The same religious purpose is found in

¹ So A.E.J. Rawlinson, Mark, WC, p. 181; cf. also Guy, op. cit., pp. 108f.; Caird, op. cit., p. 62. For an exhaustive examination of the problems and a history of the exegesis of this chapter see G.R. Beasley-Murray, Jesus and the Future.

² A Fresh Approach to the New Testament and Early Christian Literature, p. 208.

³ Guy, op. cit., p. 119. Taylor, Mark, pp. 614f., regards it as the work of an early scribe.

⁴ Cf. Jno. 16:13 with its promise that when the Spirit comes "he will declare to you the things that are to come."

⁵ Rev., MNTC, xviii.

those passages where Paul offers prophetic revelations.¹ He, too, is anxious that all truth about the eschaton should minister to present, practical, spiritual ends.

But New Testament prophecy did not concern itself wholly with eschatological considerations in the restricted sense of this term. G. B. Caird after noting the prominent role of apocalyptic in Jewish prophecy aptly remarks that "there is no need for us to suppose that the primitive church was in any way circumscribed by Jewish precedent, and all the evidence is to the contrary."² The "apocalypse" which a Christian prophet contributed when the Christian community gathered in worship may sometimes have had to do with the Parousia but this was not necessarily always so.³ It should be noted that Paul sometimes uses *μυστήριον* to refer to aspects of God's saving purpose in Christ other than the strictly eschatological. It is in connection with such a use of the term referring to the inclusion of the Gentiles as "fellow heirs, members of the same body, and partakers of the promise in Christ Jesus" that prophets are mentioned along with apostles as the organs of its revelation to men.⁴ Doubtless, this stupendous truth was not revealed in its entirety nor for all the local assemblies through one prophetic disclosure. The full range of meaning with all of its implications may well have been frequently a subject of prophetic pronouncement in the various local

¹ See the context of the following passages: Rom. 11:25f.; I Cor. 15:51ff.; I Thess. 4:15.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 62. Cf. Weiss, *MK* on I Cor. 14:3; Hering, *CNT*, p. 110; O. Schmitz, *TWNT*, V, pp. 790ff. No case, however, against the apocalyptic character of prophecy can be based on I Cor. 14:3, since in this passage Paul is defining the result of Christian prophecy rather than its content.

³ I Cor. 14:26, 29ff.; cf. Weiss, *MK*, on I Cor. 14:26.

⁴ Eph. 3:3-6.

assemblies.

When attention is turned from the epistles of Paul to Acts, the varied character of prophetic utterances finds confirmation. It may be assumed that the Spirit spoke through a Christian prophet in the church at Antioch to select the personnel for and to inaugurate the missionary outreach in Asia Minor.¹ Following the Jerusalem conference, the mother church sent along with Paul and Barnabas the prophets, Judas and Silas, to confirm orally the discussion embodied in the letter addressed to the various Gentile Christian communities. These two prophets "exhorted the brethren" at Antioch "with many words and strengthened them."² Although it is possible to understand the prophecy of Agabus in Acts 11:27ff. apocalyptically, it is by no means certain that such a reference is intended. We are only informed that he foretold the coming of a famine, a phenomenon not uncommon in Palestine in those days.³ Later Luke reports that he predicted the arrest of Paul in Jerusalem (Acts 21:10f.). Prophetic utterance not only inaugurated the Gentile missionary outreach of Paul and Barnabas from Antioch, it also played a prominent role in directing its subsequent course. The prohibition of the Spirit against preaching the word in the provinces of Asia and Bithynia on the second missionary journey is probably to be understood as being made evident

¹ Acts 13:1f. and Haenchen, MK, ad. loco/. Also supporting this suggestion is the remarkable reading of this passage in a 4th century African work entitled Prophetiae ex omnibus libris collectae, the Greek text of which has been reconstructed by Th. Zahn (Urausgabe der Apostelgeschichte, 1916), cited by F. F. Bruce, The Acts of the Apostles, ad. loco.

² Acts 15:32.

³ Perhaps he also urged the Antiochian church to support the Christians in Jerusalem during the famine. Cf. Schlatter, The Church in the New Testament Period, p. 23.

through prophetic utterance (Acts 16:6f.).¹ Although nothing is said of the role of prophecy in the selection of Timothy as a missionary assistant to Paul in the account in Acts (16:1ff.), two passages in the Pastorals indicate that such utterances were associated with his call (I Tim. 1:18, 4:14).

The relation of prophecy to other $\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ of the Word. Prophecy was merely one of the gifts of the Spirit related to the ministry of the Word in the early church. While it possessed a certain individuality both in character and in function, it was also more or less closely related to certain other gifts, namely, teaching, exhorting and apostleship. These relationships will now need to be clarified briefly.

Prophecy and teaching. The distinction between prophecy and teaching is nowhere clearly indicated in the New Testament. It is obvious, of course, that both prophecy and teaching had much in common. In a sense all prophets were teachers.² But it does not follow that prophets were merely teachers or that all teachers were prophets. In the various lists

¹ Perhaps through Silas who was a prophet or some local prophets. F. F. Bruce, Acts, NINTC, p. 327, suggests that the two different ways of referring to the Spirit ("the Holy Spirit," v. 6, and "The Spirit of Jesus," v. 7) may mean that the methods used to communicate the Spirit's will on the two occasions were different.

² Perhaps this is the clue to the right understanding of Acts 13:1. While some scholars (Ramsay, St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen, p. 65; Harnack, op. cit., I, p. 337, n. 2; and Rengstorff, TWNT, II, p. 160, would distinguish between prophets and teachers in this passage, it is better to regard the lines of distinction as not sharply drawn. At least it is impossible to divide the group into the two classes. Cf. Lake and Cadbury, BC, IV, ad. locq.; Haenchen, MK, ad. locq.; Flew, op. cit., p. 144. Paul may be referring to his own double role of prophet-teacher in I Cor. 14:6.

of *χαρίσματα* the two gifts appear to be distinguished from each other. It would seem that the differentiation lay in the presence or absence of evident signs of inspiration. The prophet spoke under the impulse of discernible inspiration; the teacher lacked such visible evidence.¹ Scholars have drawn a distinction also between the prophet and the teacher in respect to the content of their message. Prophecy, associated as it was with apocalypse and inspiration, added fresh materials to the community's stock of spiritual knowledge. The teacher, however, worked with the tradition at hand, elaborating and applying it to the life of the church. Thus in a sense the function of the prophet was prior to and foundational for that of the teacher.² While this distinction in the main is valid, its importance must not be unduly exaggerated. The prophet was not free to add to the church's tradition whatever he appeared inspired to utter. Neither was all that he uttered novel truth. Prophetic revelation while including new insights probably often consisted in no more than a specific application of some aspect of the kerygma or didache to the immediate situation at hand under the evident inspiration of the Spirit. Moreover, the teacher in the exposition and application of the tradition also added to it. And it should not be forgotten that he did not discharge his task without the help of the Spirit for his gift, no less than that of prophecy, was given by the Spirit.

¹ Of course, differences existed within each group. J.V. Bartlet, Church-Life and Church-Order, p. 19, observes with regard to teachers that the inspired or charismatic element "varied almost from the prophetic burning-point to charismatic zero." Cf. also E.F. Scott, The Validity of the Gospel Record, p. 70: "The teacher, whenever he passed from the calm exposition of truth and broke into glowing eloquence . . . became a prophet."

² Cf. Cullmann, Early Christian Worship, p. 20; Campenhausen, op. cit., p. 66; Lindsay, op. cit., pp. 93f.

Prophecy and apostleship. If the categories of prophet and teacher were not wholly mutually exclusive, neither were those of prophet and apostle. It has already been noted that the apostle Paul communicated certain prophetic revelations to the church. It is possible also that before both he and Barnabas were generally recognized in the church as apostles, they were known as prophets.¹ But if there were apostle-prophets in the early church, it is conceivable that there were apostles who were not prophets. Contrariwise, there were prophets who were not apostles.² An apostle was one who had seen the risen Lord and received a commission from Him. His commission was primarily of a missionary character and was limited to the first generation of the church. A prophet also was called by the Lord, although not by a Christophany. His sphere of labor was primarily within the Christian community. The prophet together with the apostle constituted the foundation of the church.³ The prophet in the New Testament, however, is always subordinated to the apostle. The witness of the apostles to the facts of the Gospel provided the basic criteria by which the prophetic ministry in the church was evaluated and controlled. Christianity was never wholly a religion of the Spirit. It was anchored firmly in history. This anchorage

¹ Acts 13:1. Cf. supra p. 138.

² There is no warrant for assuming either that all of the Twelve exercised the gift of prophecy or that Agabus, for example, was an apostle. Guy, op. cit., p. 98, n. a, has suggested that 'apostle' is a vocational description rather than primarily a psychological one. This is a useful distinction if it is not pressed too far. For a suggestive treatment of the similarity of Paul's call to apostleship and the call of the Old Testament prophets, vid. J. Munck, op. cit., pp. 15-27.

³ Eph. 2:20.

was preserved by the normative place assigned to the apostolic witness in the establishment of the faith and life of the Christian church.¹

Prophecy and exhorting. Included with prophecy and teaching in the catalogue of gifts in Rom. 12:6ff. is a reference to $\delta \pi α ρ α κ α λ ὤ ν$. Elsewhere $\pi α ρ α κ α λ ὤ ν$ is closely associated with the activity of the Christian prophet.² But it would be unwarranted to assume that only prophets exhorted. Paul as an apostle frequently engaged in this activity as is evident in his letters. Presumably teachers, likewise, exhorted in their work of teaching. Thus $\pi α ρ α κ α λ ὤ ν$ as a term of function cuts across the categories of apostleship, prophecy and teaching. Nevertheless, it is likely that the work of the Christian prophet is mainly in view.³

II. THE DIFFUSION OF PROPHECY IN THE EARLY CHURCH

Was prophecy open to all Christians? The prophet Joel contemplating the eschatological bestowal of the Spirit upon "all flesh" associated with this event a wide diffusion of the gift of prophecy (2:28f.). This passage is quoted by Peter as finding fulfillment on the day of Pentecost (Acts 2:16ff.). Does it follow, therefore, that in the early church the

¹ Cf. Dodd, Johannine Epistles, BNTC, pp. 103-106; Cullmann, Peter, pp. 215ff.; also his essay, "The Tradition," The Early Church, pp. 75ff.; J. W. Bowman, The Religion of Maturity, p. 21; H. Sasse, "Jesus Christ, the Lord," Mysterium Christi, ed. by Bell and Deissmann, pp. 97f.

² E.g. I Cor. 14:3; cf. Acts 15:32.

³ Cf. Schmitz, TWNT, V, p. 794. C. K. Barrett, BNTC, ad. loco., thinks the work of the Christian preacher is in view. The phrase $\delta \pi α ρ α κ α λ ὤ ν$ may reflect an early Christian worship service along the lines of the synagogical service in which there was opportunity given for a word of exhortation; cf. Acts 13:15; Lk. 4:21. Vid. further Michel, MK, on Heb. 13:22 and Str.-B., IV, 1, pp. 171ff.

gift of prophecy was a general if not a universal phenomenon?

Support for this conclusion may be found in the Jewish equation of the exercise of the prophetic gift with the reception of the Spirit. To receive the Spirit is to become a prophet.¹ Furthermore, if the text of Acts 2:18 which is found in B and the majority of the manuscripts is correct, the addition of the phrase *καὶ προφητεῖαν* to the Old Testament passage which is quoted, would serve to emphasize the prophetic character of the Pentecostal phenomenon.² It is conceivable, therefore, that in the earliest days of the primitive church, all Christians were regarded as prophets.³

When attention is turned from the Pentecostal narrative to the discussion of prophecy in I Cor. 14, additional evidence may be found for the view that the exercise of this gift was both open to and regarded as desirable for all Christians. Particularly relevant are the following passages:

Make love your aim, and earnestly desire the spiritual gifts, especially that you may prophesy. (I Cor. 14:1)

Now I want you all to speak in tongues, but even more to prophesy. (I Cor. 14:5a)

If, therefore, the whole church assembles and all speak in tongues, and outsiders or unbelievers enter, will they not say that you are mad? But if all prophesy, and an unbeliever or outsider enters, he is convicted by all, he is called to account

¹ The evidence is set out by Str.-B., II, pp. 127ff.; cf. also J. Abelson, The Immanence of God in Rabbinic Literature, pp. 228f.; I. Abrahams, Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospel (Second Series), pp. 120ff.

² The reading of D (which omits this phrase) is preferred by Ropes, BC, III, p. 17 (cf. also IV, pp. 21f.) and Maenchen, MK, ad. loco.

³ Cf. Lake and Cadbury, BC, IV, p. 26. See also Acts 19:6 where prophecy follows the reception of the Spirit.

by all, (I Cor. 14:23, 24)

Let two or three prophets speak, and let the others weigh what is said. If a revelation is made to another sitting by, let the first be silent. For you can all prophesy one by one, so that all may learn and all be encouraged. (I Cor. 14:29-31)

On the basis of such evidence E. Schweizer feels justified in summarizing Paul's view of the matter as follows: "Grundsätzlich sollen und können alle prophezeihen."¹

Alongside these assertions which seem to point, at least in theory, to a universal exercise of the gift of prophecy in the Corinthian church, is equally clear evidence from I Cor. 12 that the bestowal of the gift was regarded in more restricted terms.² Elsewhere also in his epistles Paul seems to speak of prophets as a restricted group within the Christian community.³ It is clear, furthermore, that early a special order of prophets arose in the Jerusalem church who were distinguished from the rest of the community.⁴ The gift of prophecy thus is not coextensive with membership in the church.

Upon closer examination the evidence cited above from I Cor. 14 does not necessarily demand the conclusion that Paul envisioned a universal exercise of the gift of prophecy in the church.⁵ In I Cor. 14:1 Paul is attempting to redirect the Corinthian desire for spiritual gifts from glos-

¹ Das Leben des Herrn, p. 57.

² I Cor. 12:10, 29. This point is further supported by the illustration of the body (vv. 14ff.) which is designed to show that all cannot exercise the same function.

³ E.g. Rom. 12:6; Eph. 2:20; 3:5; 4:11.

⁴ Acts 11:27; 15:32; 21:9ff.; for other Christian communities see Acts 13:1; 21:9.

⁵ Cf. H. Greeven, "Propheten, Lehrer, Vorsteher bei Paulus," ZNW, XLIV (1952-53), pp. 5ff.

solalia to the more serviceable gift of prophecy. His intention is not to make a pronouncement with regard to its potential universality. Paul's expressed wish in I Cor. 14:5 that all the Corinthians might prophesy may merely designate a desire which Paul fully knows is impossible of realization.¹ With regard to I Cor. 14:23f. it may be observed that the situation contemplated is a hypothetical one. Probably πάντες should not be emphasized in a statistical sense as though Paul actually meant that every member of the assembly prophesied. Paul appears to be interested in the dominant impression which is made upon the unbeliever or outsider as he enters the service. Just as all do not necessarily speak in tongues (this is all that the outsider coming in can hear!), so not all participate in the gift of prophecy. But the exercise of this gift lays powerful hold upon his mind and heart until it towers above all other impressions made upon him by the worshipping assembly.² Finally, Paul's statement "you can all prophesy" in I Cor. 14:31a likely has reference to the prophets mentioned in vv. 29f. and not to all the members of the church. The latter are in view in v. 31b where Paul, alluding to the contemplated objective which the ministry of prophecy should achieve, says, "so that all may learn and all be encouraged."³ There is no need, therefore, to see any contradiction between Paul's restriction

¹ So Hering, CNT, ad. loc. Cf. I Cor. 7:7 for a similar example of a wish impossible of fulfillment.

² Lietzmann, HNT, ad. loc., suggests that προφητεῖαι here may include not only prophecy proper but a series of diversified phenomena.

³ This is supported by the change from the second to the third person in connection with the two occurrences of πάντες in v. 31: ὅπως οὖν ὡς ὅτε καθ' ἓνα πάντες προφητεύειν, ἵνα πάντες μαρτυροῦνται καὶ πάντες παρακαλεῖσθαι.

of prophecy in I Cor. 12:10, 29 and the statements noted in I Cor. 14. It may be concluded then that the prophets and prophetesses in the early church were particular individuals who were recognized as possessing the gift of prophecy in a more or less permanent manner. This does not exclude the possibility that there also may have been certain persons who, on occasion, may have prophesied but who were not normally recognized as possessing the gift of prophecy in the Christian community.¹ There is no need, for example, to suppose that because the Ephesian disciples are said to have prophesied when they received the Spirit that they subsequently exercised the gift or were known as prophets (Acts 19:6).² It is possible also, as Greeven has suggested, that the prohibition against women speaking in the worship assembly of the church (I Cor. 14:33b-36) should be understood as directed against an occasional irregular exercise of the gift of prophecy on the part of those who were not generally recognized as possessing the gift. The instruction in I Cor. 11:5 would then apply only to those who were duly regarded as prophetesses in the church.³

The geographical diffusion of prophecy. It is impossible to say how soon after Pentecost the phenomenon of Christian prophets appeared

¹ Cf. Campenhausen, op. cit., p. 66. Greeven, op. cit., p. 8, has suggested that the situation in Corinth reflects a process of transition between an older view of a general prophetism of all members and a later limitation of the gift to certain members in the community.

² Perhaps, however, Luke did not intend to distinguish between glossolalia and prophecy in this instance and that the former is really in view here; cf. supra p. 153.

³ Op. cit., p. 6. More likely, however, Paul in I Cor. 11:5 has inspired utterance in mind, while in I Cor. 14:33b-36 an inquisitive interruption and questioning of the prophets is in view. The former is permitted; the latter is forbidden; cf. Lietzmann, The Beginnings of the Christian Church, p. 147. For the various solutions proposed by scholars, the standard commentaries may be consulted; cf. also Schweizer, Das Leben des Herrn, p. 56, n. 22.

in the church. The first explicit reference to them in the book of Acts occurs in Acts 11:27 where we hear of certain prophets who came from Jerusalem to Antioch, one of whom was Agabus. This was sometime prior to the famine which occurred in Judea in the days of Claudius.¹ It is possible, however, that prophetic traits are to be seen in certain characters portrayed in the earlier narratives of the book, such as Stephen and Philip.² In addition to Agabus the names of two other Jerusalem prophets are known, namely, Judas and Silas (Acts 15:22f., 32). These three men, although associated with the church in Jerusalem, also travelled to other Christian communities in Palestine and beyond.³

Christian prophetism, however, was not confined to Jewish Christianity. There were prophets in the church at Antioch who were instrumental in launching the missionary journey of Paul and Barnabas in Asia Minor (Acts 13:1).⁴ There were four prophetesses in Caesarea (Acts

¹ The famine may be dated ^cA.D. 45-46; cf. Lake's discussion, BC, V, pp. 452-55.

² Carrington, op. cit., p. 57; Guy, op. cit., pp. 93f.

³ E.g. Antioch (Acts 11:27; 15:30ff.); Caesarea (Acts 21:8ff.); Asia Minor and Europe (Acts 15:40ff.).

⁴ For an attempt to deny prophets to the Antiochian church see Erik Peterson, "La λειτουργία des prophetes et didascales à Antioch," Rech. d. Science Rel., XXXVI (1949), pp. 577-79. His case, however, is hardly convincing; cf. Haenchen, MK, on Acts 13:1 (n. 3). Perhaps in this connection attention may be called to the references to false prophets in Matt. 7:15, 22f. (probably drawn from M; cf. T. W. Manson in The Mission and Message of Jesus, pp. 467f.) which may reflect prophetism in the church at Antioch in the latter part of the first century (cf. Streeter, The Four Gospels, pp. 580ff. who would associate the composition of Matthew's Gospel with Antioch). Reference may also be made to the Matthean addition to the Markan apocalypse ("Many false prophets shall arise and lead you astray," Matt. 24:11) which may support the assumption. The Didache (11, 13) also bears witness to prophets probably in Syria at the end of the first or the beginning of the second century A. D.

21:9).¹ Prophets were found also further north on the sea coast at Tyre (Acts 21:4). There were prophets in the churches of Asia Minor. The emphasis on prophecy in Ephesians (2:20; 3:5; 4:11) together with the tradition which associates the Apocalypse, "the one great literary product of early Christian prophecy,"² with Ephesian Christianity is suggestive of the importance of prophecy in the churches of this area.³ It is possible also that the churches in the southern part of the Roman province of Galatia knew prophets if "the prophetic utterances" associated with Timothy's call may be taken as a reference to local prophets.⁴ The gift of prophecy was familiar to the churches in Corinth (I Cor. 12:10, 28), Rome (Rom. 12:6)⁵ and Thessalonica (I Thess. 5:20). A further hint of the widespread character of this phenomenon is the reference in Acts 20:23. Paul in his farewell speech to the Ephesian elders at Miletus on his last journey to Jerusalem confessed uncertainty over

¹ The participle, *προφητεύουσαι*, which is employed in this passage would indicate that these women had the gift of prophecy rather than that they merely prophesied occasionally; cf. Lake and Cadbury, BC, IV, ad. loc.

² Swete, The Apocalypse of St. John, p. xx. It should be noted that the author of the Apocalypse is only one of a number of prophets in the churches of Asia; cf. Rev. 22:9.

³ Cf. also the allusions to false prophetism in the churches of the Roman province of Asia near the close of the first century: I Jno. 4:1ff.; II Jno. 7; Rev. 2:20.

⁴ I Tim. 1:18; 4:14; cf. Acts 16:1ff. But the reference may be to Paul and/or Silas rather than local prophets; cf. Hort, op. cit., p. 182. The problem is further complicated, of course, by the uncertainty attaching to the construction of the Pastorals. A similar reference to prophets in this general area may be intended in Acts 16:6f., although here again the prophetic monitions of Paul or Silas may be in view; cf. J. A. Findlay, The Acts of the Apostles, pp. 150f.

⁵ Cf. also Hermas, Mand. 11, who writing from Rome in the first half of the second century was aware of the need for testing prophets.

his fate when he should finally reach his destination "except that the Holy Spirit testifies to me in every city that imprisonment and afflictions await me." This testimony probably was given by Christian prophets in the various Christian communities through which Paul had passed.¹

In view of this evidence, we may confidently conclude that Christian prophetism was a well-nigh universal phenomenon in first century Christianity.² Probably prophets were to be found in every Christian center in the Roman world and were influential in giving shape and direction to the developing life of the apostolic church. This does not necessarily mean that there were numerous prophets in each community. A number of scholars feel that the gift remained a somewhat limited and exceptional gift in the various Christian communities.³

III. THE CONTROL OF PROPHECY

As has already been observed the notion of control is intimately associated with the concept of *χάρισμα* in the New Testament. Prophecy as a *χάρισμα* is not excepted from certain regulatory principles. This is true notwithstanding the fact that prophecy belongs to the category of the more obviously inspired gifts. The abnormal psychological status of the prophet is never regarded in the New Testament as sufficient attestation of the truth of his utterances. Indeed, it was because of the

¹ Haenchen, *MK*, ad. loc.; but see Lake and Cadbury, *BC*, IV, ad. loc.

² Cf. Guy, *op. cit.*, p. 104; Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 91: "It [prophecy] appeared spontaneously wherever the Christian faith spread."

³ W. L. Knox, *op. cit.*, p. 37; J. A. Robinson, "The Christian Ministry in the Apostolic and sub-Apostolic Periods," *op. cit.*, p. 30; Swete, *The Holy Spirit in the New Testament*, p. 377.

potential dangers which inevitably lurk in unbridled enthusiasm that certain controls were recognized as imperative.¹ These regulatory principles may be regarded somewhat arbitrarily as falling into two classes: the subjective, or those which lay primarily within the sphere of the prophet's personal exercise of his gift; the objective, or those which provided the church with norms by which the true exercise of the gift in her midst could be distinguished from the false.

A. Subjective Principles of Control

Volitional control. The exercise of the *χαρίσμα* of prophecy was not a wholly involuntary matter. Prophecy indeed rested upon a "given" word from the Lord but the prophet was not completely passive in the grip of an overpowering inspiration. It appears as though prophets were fairly numerous in the church at Corinth but even though all may have received a revelation from the Lord, only two or three were to speak in a worship service (I Cor. 14:29). Furthermore, if while one was speaking a revelation was made to another, the first was to terminate his message and allow his fellow-prophet to speak (I Cor. 14:30).² This is possible

¹ Dodd, Johannine Epistles, MNTC, p. 98, suggests that much of the fantastic literature of Gnosticism could well be understood as originating in the unbridled enthusiasm of inspired men who claimed special revelations of the unseen world and whose revelations were later organized into the systems known to us from Irenaeus and Hippolytus.

² Perhaps on the assumption that a fresh revelation is of superior value; cf. Godet, I Cor., ad. locq. More likely, however, it is based on the conviction that a prophetic utterance at best is fragmentary in character (I Cor. 13:9) and needs to be supplemented; cf. Moffatt, I Cor., MNTC, p. 216.

because "the spirits of prophets are subject to prophets" (I Cor. 14:32).¹ This is expected of prophets because "God is not a God of confusion but of peace" (I Cor. 14:33).

It is precisely the ability of the prophet to exercise some degree of rational control over his gift that constitutes one of the distinctive characteristics of Christian prophecy as compared with prophetism in the Graeco-Roman world.²

The analogy of faith. According to Rom. 12:6 the gift of prophecy is to be exercised *κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως*. This phrase is closely related to the principle which Paul has already enunciated in v. 3. There Paul exhorts each Christian to appraise himself realistically (*σωφρονεῖν*) in the light of that "measure of faith" (*μέτρον πίστεως*) which God has assigned him." The particular gift which is granted to a believer is thus brought into correspondence with a divinely allotted "measure of faith." Now in v. 6 the person to whom the gift of prophecy has been given is called upon to exercise this endowment *κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως*.

¹ Schlatter, *Paulus*, p. 385, Campenhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 67, Greeven, *op. cit.*, pp. 12f., take this statement to mean that the spirits of prophets are subject to other prophets in the assembly. This is a valid concept and finds expression in I Cor. 14:29b. But the thought of the passage as a whole (vv. 29-33a) seems to focus on the responsibility of the prophet to control the exercise of his own gift. It is better, therefore, to interpret v. 32 as above. Cf. Weiss, *MK*, *ad. locq.*; Lietzmann, *HNT*, *ad. locq.*; Robertson and Plummer, *ICC*, *ad. locq.*; Fascher, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

² Although *προφήτης* and *μάντις* were distinguished by Plato, *Tim.* 71E, 72A, and ecstasy was assigned to the *μάντις* rather than the *προφήτης*, the two were practically merged in the Graeco-Roman period. Thus even Philo, *Quis Rer. Div.*, 52; *De Spec. Leg.*, IV, 49, ascribes to the *προφήτης* the ecstasy Plato assigned to the *μάντις*. Cf. Guy, *op. cit.*, chaps. V, VI; Fascher, *op. cit.*, chap. IV.

This is the only occurrence of ἀναλογία in the New Testament. In Greek literature it is used in mathematical and logical contexts in the sense of "the right relation" of "the proportion."¹ This also would seem to be the meaning here. But commentators are not agreed whether πρός should be taken in the objective or subjective sense. If it is understood in the former way, then the prophet is enjoined to exercise his gift in right relation to the faith of the church. Calvin, following many of the Latin Fathers, understood it in this sense.² Many modern scholars, however, prefer the subjective reference.³ The meaning then is that the prophet must see to it that he does not exceed the limits which are given to him with his χάρισμα. He must exercise his gift in proportion to the measure of faith which God has assigned to him. He must be careful not to represent his own interests but to speak only what the Spirit gives him to say. In this case, Paul in v. 6b is simply giving specific expression and practical application to the principle already implicit in v. 3b.

Now, of course, each of the χαρίσματα should be exercised in strict conformity to the limits inherent in the gift of faith accompanying the χάρισμα. The question may then be raised, why is this injunction explicitly stated only in connection with prophecy? G. Kittel has suggested that prophecy offers particular temptations to abuse.⁴

¹ Plato, Polit. 257 B; Tim. 31C, 32C; Arist., Eth. Nicom., V, iii, 8; Epicur., Epist., I, 17.

² CC, ad. loc.

³ Michel, Romans, MK, ad. loc.; Sanday and Headlam, ICC, ad. loc.; J. Knox, IB, IX, ad. loc.; Büchsel, op. cit., p. 362, n. 1.

⁴ TWIT, I, pp. 350f.

In the case of the *χάρισμα ἰάματος*, for example, the correspondence between the gift of faith and the exercise of the *χάρισμα* is outwardly evident because when faith ceases to exist the operation of the *χάρισμα* also fails. But such a correspondence does not necessarily hold in the case of prophecy where a man may speak in excess of his gift.¹

If the control of prophecy laid down in Rom. 12:6 is essentially a subjective principle, it does not follow that the community was solely or even mainly dependent upon the integrity of the prophets in the exercise of their gift for the assurance that the *χάρισμα* would not be abused. There were certain objective safeguards which provided effective protection for the community against the misuse of this gift. Attention must now be given to these.

B. Objective Principles of Control

The Christological orientation of prophecy. Although the general principle which Paul lays down in I Cor. 12:3 has particular reference to the determination of the kind of inspiration which finds expression in ecstatic utterance² in the Christian assembly, it is not without its rele-

¹ Cf. The Journal of John Woolman, ed. Alexander Smellie, London (1898), p. 66: "One day being under a strong exercise of spirit I stood up and said some words in a meeting; but not keeping to the Divine opening, I said more than was required of me." It is possible also that the temptation to prophesy in disregard of the limits imposed by the gift of faith may sometimes have been encouraged by the awareness that a certain responsibility was assigned to those who possessed the gift of the *ἁγίου πνεύματος*, to protect the community from spurious utterances.

² Cf. Weiss, MK, ad. loco.; Schlatter, Paulus, p. 334. Dodd, Johannine Epistles, MNTC, p. 97, observes: "A prophet would hardly be guilty of such an aberration, since prophets can control their own spirits (I Cor. 14:32)."

vance also for the control of prophecy. The broad principle laid down in this passage is that the Holy Spirit can be regarded as the author only of those inspired utterances which are in keeping with the recognition of the Lordship of Christ.¹ The prophet was not an autonomous figure in the early church at liberty to claim divine authority for whatever sort of message he might deliver. The prophet, no less than the apostle, was a bondservant of Jesus Christ. The inner essence of the prophetic mission is expressed tersely in the last book of the New Testament: ἡ γὰρ μαρτυρία Ἰησοῦ ἐστὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς προφητείας.² This, as H. B. Swete has suggested may be regarded as an application of the general law stated in I Cor. 12:3 to the special inspiration of the Christian prophets.³

A more specific application of the same general Christological norm controlling prophecy is found in I Jno. 4:1ff. The author has in view prophets who have gone out from the church and in its name, but who are not inspired by the Spirit of God. They are actually false prophets. The

¹ I Cor. 12:3 should not be construed as a formal creedal test as is done by Lake, Introduction to the New Testament, p. 170; cf. p. 114. It is rather an inspired spontaneous utterance.

² Rev. 19:10. Charles, ICC, ad. loc., takes μαρτυρία Ἰησοῦ as an objective genitive (although he thinks the entire statement may be a marginal gloss). But perhaps the subjective sense should not be regarded as wholly out of sight. Christ forms both the impulse and the content of the prophetic utterances. Swete, The Apocalypse of St. John, ad. loc., remarks: "The possession of the prophetic Spirit, which makes a true prophet, shows itself in a life of witness to Jesus which perpetuates His witness to the Father and to Himself. The two things are in practice identical; all true prophets are witnesses of Jesus, and all who have the witness of Jesus in the highest sense are prophets. Cf. also Moffatt, EGT, V, ad. loc.

³ The Apocalypse of St. John, ad. loc.; cf. E. F. Scott, The Spirit in the New Testament, p. 216.

test by which their inspiration may be shown to be false is their attitude toward the Incarnation. They will not acknowledge "that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh" (v. 2).¹ The reference no doubt is to early attempts at reinterpreting Christianity in Gnostic terms in order to commend the Gospel to the pagan world. Although these men spoke with evident inspiration, they were not to be regarded as Christian prophets because they denied the reality of the Incarnation. Presumably they would have been willing to say "Jesus is Lord" (I Cor. 12:3) but they did not mean by it what the church meant. "To confess Jesus as Lord, in the sense of the church's faith, is to confess Him as the Son of God incarnate."² Here again prophecy is brought to the test of its relation to Christ.

The basis for the Christological test of prophetic utterances is supplied by the apostolic witness in the church. This is the significance of the subordination of the prophet to the apostle. Only those prophetic deliverances are to be regarded as genuinely inspired by the Spirit which are in harmony with the apostolic witness to Christ.³

The edification of the church. Paul affirms that the prophet "speaks to men for their upbuilding and encouragement and consolation" (I Cor. 14:3). The ability of prophecy to edify the church constitutes its superiority over glossolalia. If this is the mark of genuine prophecy, then it follows that what does not contribute to the edification of the church cannot be recognized as genuine prophecy regardless of its claims or exter-

¹ Cf. II John 7: here the present participle (ἐρχόμενον) is rather ambiguous but probably refers to the Incarnation rather than the Parousia. So Dodd, Johannine Epistles, MNTC, ad. loc.; Hauck, NTD, X, ad. loc.

² Dodd, Johannine Epistles, MNTC, p. 99.

³ Supra p. 163.

nal marks of inspiration. The charge against Jezebel who called herself a prophetess in the church in Thyatira was that she taught Christians to practice immorality.¹ Instead of building up the church, she contributed to its destruction. Perhaps this is also what is in mind in the warning against "false prophets who come in sheep's clothing but inwardly are ravenous wolves. You will know them by their fruits" (Matt. 7:15f.). The fruits are not specified but surely among them place must be found for the edification of the Christian community.²

The test of ethical character and conduct. Closely related to the effect of a prophet's work upon the corporate life of the Christian community are certain criteria within the character and conduct of the prophet himself. This test is plainly and tersely put in the Didache (11:8): "But not everyone who speaks in a spirit is a prophet, except he have the behaviour of the Lord. From his behaviour, then, the false prophet and the true prophet shall be known."³ Specific applications of this principle follow.⁴ A prophet, for example, who orders a meal for himself under inspiration and then eats it, is a false prophet. Again, if a prophet remains in a community three days or more, he is a false prophet. Finally, though a prophet should teach the truth but not do

¹ Rev. 2:20.

² Cf. Guy, op. cit., p. 114: "Ultimately the only true test was that which Paul applied to the manifestation of the Spirit in the Corinthian church; the true prophetism was that which contributed to οἰκοδομή, παρακλήσις, and παραμυθία."

³ Cf. Hermas, Mand., XI, 7.

⁴ These are found in chap. 11; cf. also Eus. V, 18, 4-11 where the criterion of conduct was used against the Montanist prophets.

what he teaches, he is to be regarded as a false prophet.

Probably a reference to personal character and conduct is also in view in the figure of "fruit" as a test of a prophet's genuineness in Matt. 7:15ff. It is not enough to prophesy, cast out demons, and do many wonderful works in the name of Jesus. The true index of authentic prophetism is located elsewhere, namely, in the doing of the will of God.¹

The gift of the discerning of spirits. Closely associated with the gift of prophecy was the *χαρίσμα* of the distinguishing of spirits which served as a check on the exercise of prophecy. Since this ability is designated as a *χαρίσμα* by Paul, a full and separate treatment is reserved for the next chapter. It is sufficient at this point merely to indicate that it constituted one of the controls upon the gift now under consideration.

IV. THE ROLE OF THE PROPHET IN THE EARLY CHURCH

As already seen, the figure of the prophet was known to every part of the apostolic church. But he was not only a ubiquitous figure; he also played a deeply significant role. An attempt must now be made to portray briefly the role of the prophet in the life of the early church.

The sphere of the prophet's labours was the Christian community rather than the mission field.² Probably he was primarily a local figure, although he was also free to move about if necessary in the discharge of

¹ Cf. Matt. 7:21ff. Vid. also Büchsel, op. cit., pp. 183f. A helpful discussion of the problem of true and false prophecy in early Christianity is that by H. Bacht, op. cit., pp. 237-62. Although it deals with Old Testament prophecy, much relevant material may also be found in J. Skinner, Prophecy and Religion, chap. X.

² Fascher, op. cit., p. 186.

his ministry.¹ He was recognized as directly called of God rather than one who occupied an office by virtue of human appointment. Like his Old Testament predecessor he was a spokesman for the word of the Lord. He is not, however, merely a duplication of the Old Testament prophet. His role has been modified by the Christ-event. The Christian prophet is broadly conceived as an eschatological figure who stands within the community of the New Age and who seeks to build up the community established by Christ. His task is no longer the exposition of the covenant which stands at the beginning of Israel's life but the new covenant which God has made with men in Christ in these last days. In a sense the revelation which came in "the Word made flesh" exhausted the category of prophecy and made the figure of the prophet superfluous.² Nevertheless, after the coming of Christ prophecy continued in the church but in a subordinate role to the apostles who were the primary witnesses to the Christ-event. The influence of the prophet was felt in various areas of the church's life. Two in particular call for brief comment.

The prophet and church worship. The prophets made a contribution to the worship life of the church. This is most clearly seen in I Cor. 14. Although prophecy as such is not mentioned in I Cor. 14:26, it is certainly in view in the "apocalypse" which is contributed when the church assembles in worship. Two or three prophets were allowed to speak as the Spirit moved them. The remaining prophets were not to be inactive but were to exercise judgment on what was spoken (I Cor. 14:29).

¹ The evidence for the itinerant prophet is drawn from Acts (11:27ff., 15:32, 36ff., 21:10) and the Didache (11:3ff., 13:1) rather than Paul's epistles.

² Cf. Guy, op. cit., pp. 152ff.

The powerful influence of the exercise of the gift of prophecy is suggested in such glimpses as are found in I Cor. 14:3, 24f.

The picture given in I Cor. 14 is confirmed in Acts where prophets are represented as active in the worship of the church. This is most clearly seen in Acts 13:1ff. which certainly depicts a worship service in the church in Antioch in which prophets played a prominent role.¹ Elsewhere in Acts they are seen as active in the assembly of the Christian community (Acts 11:28, 15:32). Prophetic activity in the context of the church's worship may also be in view in such passages as Eph. 5:19f.,² Col. 3:16,³ Rev. 14:13 and 22:17.⁴

It may be confidently assumed on the basis of the New Testament that oral prophecy played a large part in the public worship of the church. Whether the prophets in the early church were associated with the conduct of the Eucharist as was true in a later period is not clear.⁵ It is quite possible, however, that the prophets contributed to the development of the liturgy of the church in the area of hymnology. The early Christian hymns which are embedded in our New Testament literature may at least in some instances be the production of Christian prophets.⁶

¹ Note the use of *λειτουργεῖν* (v. 2) which the LXX employs for the temple ministry of priests and Levites (cf. *TWNT*, IV, pp. 225-32) and the Didache (15:1) applies to Christian worship.

² Selwyn, *I Peter*, p. 266.

³ F. W. Beare, *IB*, XI, ad. loc., suggests that "the word of Christ" may mean "the word which Christ speaks as a living presence among his people." This might be construed as a prophetic utterance.

⁴ E. F. Scott, *The Spirit in the New Testament*, p. 215.

⁵ E.g. Did. 10:7. J. Knox, "The Ministry in the Primitive Church," *The Ministry in Historical Perspectives*, ed. by H. R. Niebuhr and D. D. Williams, p. 14, regards it as altogether likely that they were.

⁶ For examples of such hymns *vid.* A. M. Hunter, *Paul and His Predecessors*, chaps. IV, V; A. B. Macdonald, *op. cit.*, pp. 112ff. For the relation of prophets to such hymns *vid.* Selwyn, *I Peter*, pp. 266f.

The prophet and the gospel tradition. The tradition lying behind the Synoptic Gospels gradually took shape in the church during the decades following Pentecost. This process was not carried on in a vacuum but in the bosom of a church in which there were prophets. Scholarship has attempted to assign the various strands of the Synoptic tradition to different local centers in the early church. If no more than relative degrees of historical probability can be claimed for this attempt, it must not be forgotten that the wide diffusion of prophets in the various Christian communities of Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor and southeastern Europe make it very unlikely that any of these materials were unexposed at some time or other to prophetic influence. Is it possible that Christian prophets may have exercised a formative influence upon the gospel tradition?

R. Bultmann displays no hesitancy in affirming that such was indeed the case. In discussing, for example, certain prophetic and apocalyptic sayings in the Gospels he concludes as follows:

Sie mögen ursprünglich einfach als Worte des Geistes in der Gemeinde gegolten haben. In ihnen sprach gewiss manchmal-wie Apk 16. 15 - den erhöhte Christus, und erst allmählich wird man in solchen Worten Weissagungen des historischen Jesus gesehen haben. Ein Unterschied zwischen solchen Worten christlicher Propheten und den überlieferten Jesusworten empfand die Gemeinde nicht, da für sie ja auch die überlieferten Jesusworte nicht Aussagen einer Autorität der Vergangenheit waren, sondern Worte des Auferstandenen, der für die Gemeinde ein Gegenwärtiger ist.¹

Similarly, when he discusses the Ich-Worte of Jesus his general conclusion is that these too are the production of Christian prophets who spoke

¹ Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition (3te Aufl.), p. 135. He quotes H. Gunkel, Reden und Aufsätze (1913), p. 173: "Man darf annehmen, dass nicht wenige Worte, die uns als Äusserungen Jesu im Überliefert werden, ursprünglich von solchen Inspirierten (wie dem Sänger von Od Sal 42) im namen Christi ausgesprochen worden sind."

in the name of the Risen Lord.¹

Such general ascriptions of material in the Synoptic tradition to Christian prophetic activity is surely open to criticism.² It suffers from a too low view of the messianic self-consciousness of Jesus. Furthermore, the historical consciousness of the church must not be forgotten. Paul was able to distinguish between material which came to him as part of the historical tradition of Jesus' sayings and his own inspired judgments.³ It is possible, however, that traces of prophetic activity may be present in the tradition in certain of these Ich-Worte if it be true, as C. H. Dodd claims, that the formula ἡ ἀποστολή, for example, seems to have been a stock formula for expressing beliefs about the messianic character of Jesus' ministry.⁴ That all of these sayings, however, are post-resurrection prophetic productions is an arbitrary judgment which seems unwarranted.⁵

Aside from the Ich-Worte prophetic influence has been discerned in the Synoptic gospels in certain other instances. H. A. Guy, for example,

¹ Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition, p. 176; the entire discussion should be consulted, pp. 161-176.

² E.g. vid. W. Manson, Jesus the Messiah, pp. 100ff., on the Ich-Worte. This volume represents a first rate criticism of Bultmann's position with respect to the messianic self-consciousness of Jesus.

³ I Cor. 7:10, 12, 25, 40; cf. Dodd, History and the Gospel, chap. II, esp. pp. 55ff.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 102f. Cf. also his article "A New Gospel," Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, XX (1936), pp. 66, 87.

⁵ E.g. W. Manson, Jesus the Messiah, p. 104, would allow that Matt. 18:20 is a product of the post-resurrection community. A. Richardson, The Gospels in the Making, pp. 125f., would include in addition such passages as Matt. 10:16; Lk. 10:9; Matt. 16:19; and Lk. 12:49.

would see examples of such in some of the details of the Matthaean infancy stories such as the birth from a virgin (Matt. 1:22), the flight into Egypt (Matt. 2:15) and the massacre of the children (Matt. 2:17). To this he would add the payment to Judas (Matt. 26:15) and his treatment of the bribe (Matt. 27:9f.).¹ The question may be raised, however, whether historical realities in the life of Jesus may not have motivated the church to seek for predictive antecedents instead of beginning with such materials and then creating the corresponding "historical" details in the Synoptic accounts. In any case, until more scientific criteria can be established for isolating prophetic additions from the earliest historical tradition, the warning of H. A. Guy that such attempts must be pursued "with extreme caution" is apropos.²

V. PROPHECY AS A ΧΑΡΙΣΜΑ

Prophets or prophecy are prominently to the fore in each of the Pauline catalogues of χαρίσματα.³ This is not at all surprising, for the earmarks of a χαρίσμα are readily discerned in the phenomenon of Christian prophecy. It is both a gift of the Spirit and a service ability designed to build up the church.

Prophecy as a gift of the Spirit. "Prophecy," writes George Johnston, "is a characteristic mark of the Spirit's presence among men."⁴

¹ Op. cit., p. 117; cf. Dodd, History and the Gospel, p. 60.

² Op. cit., p. 116; cf. E. F. Scott, The Validity of the Gospel Record, pp. 69ff., for a sober and restrained statement.

³ I Cor. 12:10, 28f.; Rom. 12:6; Eph. 4:11.

⁴ TWB, 236a.

The relationship between the Spirit and prophecy is clearly recognized already in the Old Testament. The earliest appearances of prophecy in Israel are ascribed to the coming of the Spirit upon men.¹ Indeed, so closely was prophecy associated with the Spirit in the Hebrew mind that even Balaam's prophecy is said to be inspired by the Spirit of God (Num. 24:2ff.). Curiously enough, the later great pre-exilic prophets do not claim Spirit-inspiration for themselves.² The reason for this reticence can only be conjectured. Perhaps the erratic ecstatic behaviour of the Spirit-filled prophetic bands brought the whole matter of Spirit inspired prophecy into disrepute. More likely, however, they did not wish to be identified with the extreme political chauvinism of the professional court prophets who claimed Spirit-inspiration.³ Nevertheless, Hosea shows that in his day a prophet is still known as "a man of the Spirit" (9:7) and it is possible that Micah may make an open claim to the Spirit (3:8).⁴ With Ezekiel, there is a return to the emphasis on the connection of the Spirit with prophecy.⁵ Later writers lay stress on the

¹ E.g. I Sam. 10:5f., 10ff.; 19:20; cf. Num. 11:25-30. T. Rees, *op. cit.*, p. 5, says: "It is not improbable that this prophetic frenzy was the earliest phenomenon ascribed to the agency of the Spirit. It would strike the primitive mind as requiring a supernatural explanation more than the soldier's passion, the leader's inspiration or the seer's foresight."

² E.g. Amos, Isaiah, and Jeremiah.

³ I Kings 22:1-24; II Chron. 18:1-27; Jer. 28.

⁴ The integrity of the passage from Micah, however, is under suspicion by Old Testament scholars; cf. H. H. Rowley, "The Nature of Prophecy in the Light of Recent Study," *HTR*, XXXVIII (1945), p. 20.

⁵ Cf. Ezk. 2:2; 3:12, 14, 24; 11:1, 5; 43:5. Ezekiel exhibits a kinship with the earlier ecstatic prophets; cf. A. Guillaume, *Prophecy and Divination*, p. 155: "One feels that he was born out of due time; he should have lived a century or two earlier."

inspiration of the prophets by the Spirit (Zech. 7:12; Neh. 9:30). In his recension of the history of Judah, the Chronicler presents a succession of Spirit-filled prophets (I Chron. 12:18; II Chron. 15:1; 20:14; 24:20). But the post-exilic period with its gradual development of legalism witnessed the simultaneous decay of the gift of prophecy and the emergence of the belief that the Spirit had ceased from Israel. References to prophecy and the Spirit for the most part in late Judaism were confined either to past phenomenon or to future expectations.¹

The hope of the eschatological renewal of this gift of the Spirit came to clear expression in certain late Old Testament passages, such as Isa. 44:2-5; Ezk. 37:1-14; 39:28-29 and with it, notably in Joel 2:28f., the expectation of the revival of prophecy.² Turning to the New Testament the association of the Spirit and prophecy is prominent in the infancy narrative of Luke's Gospel (chaps. 1-2). Similarly, the coming of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost and the unusual phenomena associated with it are interpreted in light of the relation of the Spirit to prophecy in Joel 2:28ff. Elsewhere also in Acts the two are brought closely together.³

¹ Although there were persons who were regarded by the popular masses as prophets both true and false (cf. Josephus, *Antiq.* XIII, 10.7; XX, 8.6; XX, 5.1; *Wars* VI, 5.2; Mk. 11:32; Matt. 14:5), no official recognition was accorded them by the rabbis. With the death of the last prophets, Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi, it was believed that the Holy Spirit had ceased from Israel; cf. *T. Sotah* 13.2; *Str.-B.*, I, p. 127; also I Macc. 4:46; 9:27; 14:41. On the Spirit and prophecy in Judaism, *vid.* further W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, pp. 208-15; Fascher, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-64; E. Schweizer, *TWNT*, VI, pp. 383f.; H. A. Guy, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-129.

² Cf. *Str.-B.*, II, pp. 127ff., for the association of the Spirit and prophecy in rabbinic thought; for the use made of Joel 2:28f., *vid. ibid.*, II, pp. 134, 615f.

³ Acts 11:27f.; 19:6; 21:10f.

This relationship is further confirmed by the evidence of the epistles¹ and the Apocalypse.² Prophecy, therefore, is a *χάρισμα* because its genuine exercise is not a mere human activity but a recognized expression of the Spirit's operation in the life of the Christian.

Prophecy and the building up of the church. As in Israel, so also in the Christian church, the prophet was an instrument through whom the communal faith and life of the people of God were nourished and strengthened. The function of prophecy in the edification of the church is clearly and repeatedly emphasized in I Cor. 14. Paul asserts that "he who prophesies speaks to men for their upbuilding and encouragement and consolation" (I Cor. 14:3). Though one who speaks in a tongue may edify himself "he who prophesies edifies the church" (I Cor. 14:4; cf. vv. 16f.). It is for this reason that prophecy is superior to glossolalia which, unless interpreted, has no value for the edification of the church (cf. I Cor. 14:5f.).

The importance of the prophetic function for the building up of the Christian community is further pointed up in another suggestive passage in I Cor. 14:29-33:

Let two or three prophets speak, and let the others weigh what is said. If a revelation is made to another sitting by, let the first be silent. For you can all prophesy one by one, so that all may learn and all be encouraged; and the spirits of prophets are subject to prophets. For God is not a God of confusion but of peace.

In these instructions Paul envisions a plurality of prophets exercising their gifts in an orderly way in the Christian assembly. No one prophet is to monopolize the time but he must allow his fellow-prophets an oppor-

¹ I Cor. 12:8ff.; I Thess. 5:20f.; Eph. 3:4f.; I Jno. 4:1f.

² Rev. 2:7, 11, 17, 29; 3:6, 13, 22.

tunity to bring to the congregation the word which the Lord has entrusted to them. The assumption is that no one prophet is able to speak to all the diversified needs of the various members of the Christian community. From the standpoint of the community's requirements his utterance is fragmentary and needs the complementation of other prophetic deliverances.¹ The purpose which these various prophetic ministrations is designed to serve is stated succinctly: *ὅτι πάντες μαρτυροῦμεν καὶ πάντες παρακαλοῦμεν* (I Cor. 14:31b).

In an earlier connection the observation was made that there is no warrant for restricting the content of Christian prophecy to apocalyptic utterances. The Christian community in those early days was forced to find its way in the world without the benefit of the New Testament scriptures or long established Christian traditions to offer guidance either in matters of individual or group concern. There were difficult ethical problems as Christians carried their faith into the pagan culture of their day. There was the abiding threat and the frequent experience of persecution in the face of which Christian faith needed some word of encouragement and promise. There were facets of the Christian faith which needed illumination if Christian maturity was to be achieved. There were practical problems of internal fellowship and Christian outreach where guidance was needed. For help on such and similar problems the Christian community looked to those who exercised the gift of prophecy.²

¹ Cf. Parry, CGT on I Cor. 14:31.

² Rengstorff, TWNT, IV, pp. 411f., points out that prophecy was concerned with the proclamation of the will of God in relation to the needs of the Christian community and not a device for the satisfaction of human curiosity. Cf. also Schlatter, The Church in the New Testament Period, p. 23: " . . . what the prophet chiefly looked for from the Spirit and what he received, was some disclosure to help the Church in the accomplishment of her service."

It has been urged by some scholars largely on the basis of I Cor. 14:24f. that the Christian prophet exercised the ability to read the inner life of men and in particular cases to expose hidden sin.¹ Thus prophecy was one of the weapons which the early church possessed to fight sin. Examples of such Gedenkenlesen may be cited from the ministry of Jesus and life of the early church.² Probably occasionally prophets did function in this way. It is not likely, however, that I Cor. 14:24f. is intended as a description of such activity per se. The conviction of sin in the heart of the unbeliever which is here envisioned is rather the result of the exercise of the general prophetic ministry of exhortation in the Christian assembly.³

¹ Cf. Schlatter, Paulus, p. 382; H. Weinel, op. cit., pp. 183ff.; Grau, op. cit., pp. 215ff.; J. R. Pridie, The Spiritual Gifts, pp. 47f.

² Mk. 2:8; 12:15; 14:18ff.; Jno. 2:25; Acts 5:1-10; cf. R. Otto, op. cit., pp. 353f.

³ So Weiss, MK, ad. loc.: "Das προφητεῖν ist nichts anderes als eine παράκλησις, aus der der Hörer den Eindruck bekommt, das Gott selber redet." Cf. Lietzmann, HNT, ad. loc.

CHAPTER III

THE ΧΑΡΙΣΜΑ OF THE DISCERNING OF SPIRITS

Included among the χαρίσματα enumerated in I Cor. 12:8ff. and listed just after prophecy is the gift of the διακρίσεις πνευμάτων (v. 10). The close association of this χάρισμα with prophecy in I Cor. 12:10 as well as the references elsewhere to the necessity of critically evaluating prophetic utterances (I Cor. 14:29, I Thess. 5:22, I Jno. 4:1) would indicate that this gift was related particularly to the exercise of the χάρισμα of prophecy.¹

I. THE NATURE OF THE GIFT

The exercise of this gift appears to be in view in I Cor. 14:29: "Let two or three prophets speak and let the others weigh what is said." Several problems are raised by this statement: (1) Who are the οἱ ἄλλοι who are to weigh what the prophets speak? (2) What action is intended by διακρινέτωσαν?

In attempting to answer the first question several possibilities present themselves. The οἱ ἄλλοι may be the remainder of the assembly.² In this case, the Christian community as a whole would possess the gift of discrimination by which prophetic utterances would be sifted. Now, of course, to a certain extent this is true. All Christians by virtue of possessing the Spirit should be able to exercise certain spiritual discernment. The Spirit does illuminate and bring understanding which is

¹ It might however also cover the allied phenomenon of glossolalia which immediately follows in the list; cf. Moffatt, I Cor., MNTC, p. 212.

² So Lietzmann, HNT, ad. loc.; Hering, CNT, ad. loc.; Goudge, WC, ad. loco.

more than human (cf. I Cor. 2:12-16; I Jno. 2:20, 27).¹ Perhaps one reason why the Corinthians were bothered by this problem was because they were carnal.² But in I Cor. 12:10 Paul seems to regard the gift as limited to particular individuals in the church. It would seem, therefore, that the οἱ ἀλλοι of I Cor. 14:29 would be a restricted group of Christians who were recognized as possessing the gift of discernment. In this case most likely the listening prophets are in view,³ or perhaps certain individuals outside this group who were obviously endowed with the gift of discernment.⁴

The answer to the second question is not so easy. What action is here in view? Were those who possessed the gift of discrimination to judge whether or not the prophets were inspired by the Spirit of God or were they merely to determine the worth of what was said for the profit of the community? A. Schweitzer thinks that Paul did not deal with the problem of distinguishing between true and false inspiration beyond the simple canon laid down in I Cor. 12:3.⁵ H. A. Guy following this suggestion maintains that what is in view in I Cor. 14:29 is the exercise of

¹ Attention may also be called to such passages as I Cor. 10:15 and 11:13 where Paul appeals to the ability of the Corinthians to make Christian judgments.

² I Cor. 3:1ff.; cf. Lindsay, op. cit., pp. 70ff.; 99f.

³ So Weiss, NK, ad. loc.; Büchsel, op. cit., pp. 361f.; G. Delling, Der Gottesdienst im Neuen Testament, pp. 38f.; Greeven, op. cit., p. 5. The fact that in I Cor. 12:10 Paul seems to assign these two gifts to different individuals does not nullify this conclusion. In I Cor. 12:8-10 Paul is stressing the diversity of gifts in the church. He does not mean that several gifts cannot be found in the same individual.

⁴ So Parry, CCT, ad. loc.; Godet, I Cor., ad. loc.

⁵ Op. cit., pp. 174f.

judgment "on the content of the *πρὸ φητεία*, not on the source of its inspiration."¹ To assume, however, that Paul never concerned himself with the problem of false inspiration beyond the general norm proposed in I Cor. 12:3 is historically improbable. It is more likely that Paul in I Cor. 14:29 is thinking of the possibility of false inspiration and the safeguard which the church possessed in the gift of discernment.² Those who possess this gift are charged with the task of determining whether an utterance is really inspired or whether a man has assumed the role of a prophet on his own initiative.

How the gift of discernment operated is not discussed. Paul regards it as a gift of the Spirit (I Cor. 12:10). It was a gift of spiritual intuition. Doubtless, it was a complex matter.³ Probably involved was the ability to sense the congruity or incongruity of an utterance with the apostolic witness. Perhaps it was the ability to sense whether an utterance really exalted Christ as Lord (I Cor. 12:3).⁴ At times insight into the inner life and character of a man may have been granted, thus making a judgment possible. Skill in applying various other moral and spiritual

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 113, n. 9; cf. Grosheide, *NICNT*, ad. loc.; "Even if a prophetic utterance is correct, inspired by the Spirit of God, the congregation has the duty to 'discern' what must be done with such an utterance, namely, whether it is of value for the church." He cites Acts 21:10f. as an example of a true prophetic utterance which was disregarded by Paul. It should be observed, however, that we are not told that Paul was directed by prophetic utterance to remain away from Jerusalem. He was merely informed of the fate which awaited him when he would arrive there (Acts 20:22f., 21:10ff.).

² So it is understood by Weiss, *MK*, ad. loc.; Büchsel, *op. cit.*, p. 302; Fascher, *op. cit.*, p. 185; C. T. Craig, *IB*, X, ad. loc.

³ Robertson and Plummer, *ICC*, on 12:10 would regard it as a purely spiritual act, an intuitive discernment without the application of tests. It does not seem necessary, however, to eliminate reliance upon certain objective aids in order to insure the gift character of the ability.

⁴ Edwards, *I Cor.* (on I Cor. 12:10) regards the gift as a faculty to apply the test laid down in I Cor. 12:3.

criteria may also have played a role.¹

A similar reference to the gift of discrimination is found in I Thess. 5:19-22. Here, too, it is closely related to prophetic utterance (v. 20). J. E. Frame has suggested an interesting reconstruction of the situation.² He conjectures that the idlers in the Christian community at Thessalonica had demanded "in the Spirit" that those in control of the funds give them money. This demand was refused by the leaders on the ground that Paul had enjoined orally that if a man refused to work he should not receive support (II Thess. 3:10, I Thess. 4:11). The effect of this misuse of the Spirit on the rest of the community was a general inclination to doubt the validity of prophetic utterances. Thus the injunctions in vv. 19-22 may be regarded as an attempt to rehabilitate respect for charismatic phenomena in their midst. The workings of the Spirit are not to be suppressed and, in particular, prophecy is not to be despised. But prophetic utterances are not to be accepted uncritically. They are to be tested, the good retained and the evil rejected. How the Thessalonians were to execute this test is not indicated.

II. THE DISCERNING OF SPIRITS AS A $\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$

That Paul should regard the ability to distinguish between spirits as a $\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$ is not surprising. It should be noted that this abil-

¹ Cf. the various concrete tests proposed in such passages as I Jno. 4:1ff.; Matt. 7:15ff.; Did. 11; Hermas Mand. 11. No completely satisfactory test was ever devised; cf. Grant, op. cit., p. 67.

² ICC, ad. loc.; cf. also Did. 11: 12 for a comparable situation.

ity is not grounded somewhere outside the Spirit's sphere of activity and set over against it. It is itself a gift of the Spirit just as truly as was prophecy.¹ The assumption underlying the operation of this gift is the belief that the Spirit does not contradict himself. The genuineness of an inspired utterance could be assured when its truth was attested by those who possessed the gift of discrimination.² Where there is such a consensus the Spirit may be regarded as truly at work.³

Furthermore, the διακρίσις πνευματικῶν is a χάρισμα in that it is an ability given by the Spirit for the building up of the church. That such a gift should find a place in the life of the church is not surprising in view of the problems posed by the phenomenon of inspiration which was common both inside and outside the Christian community. In an age both desiring and enjoying an abundance of pneumatic experiences the danger of being led astray by false inspiration was a constant threat to the healthy life and development of the church. Externally there was little to distinguish Christian from pagan inspiration. In this sphere, false claims were easily made but less easily detected.⁴

¹ It might be expected that this gift would make its appearance with Christian maturity in well established communities, but Paul expects it in the very recently founded church at Thessalonica. Cf. Oepke, TWNT, III, p. 594.

² E. F. Scott, The Spirit in the New Testament, p. 215, thinks that Rev. 14:13 may allude to such a confirmation of a prophetic utterance in the Christian assembly.

³ Cf. Weiss, MK, on I Cor. 14:29 and the illustrations cited from Eus. V, 16, 8, 17. See also I Cor. 14:37 where Paul appears confident that his utterances would be judged as genuine by other truly inspired persons in the church.

⁴ The existence of false prophets and the need for discrimination is easily documented; e.g. I Jno. 4:1ff.; I Tim. 4:1; Matt. 7:15-23; 24:11, 24; Did. 11, 13; Hermas, Mand. 11. Cf. also P.G.S. Hopwood, The Religious Experience of the Primitive Church, pp. 197ff.; Lindsay, op. cit., pp. 100ff.

Furthermore, there was the constant danger of "imperfections in the delivery of a Divine message through personal vanity or want of balance"¹ on the part of a true prophet. The gift thus was one of the ways in which the Lord of the church sought to protect His community on earth.

The fact that the church felt the need as time went on to propose various concrete tests to distinguish true inspiration from the false does not mean that it lost the *χαρίσμα* of the discerning of spirits but only that it came to recognize more clearly the criteria by which such discrimination must be made.² Ultimately, only that which is fully congruous with the spirit and teachings of Christ and serves to build up the church can be regarded as genuinely inspired by the Spirit.

¹ Swete, The Holy Spirit in the New Testament, p. 190.

² Perhaps from this point of view the differing statements regarding the testing of prophets found in I Cor. 14:29 and Did. 11:7 may be understood; cf. Robertson and Plummer, ICC on I Cor. 14:29; but vid. Carrington, The Early Church, I, p. 196; Swete, The Holy Spirit in the the Ancient Church, p. 21; R. Knopf, INT on Did. 11:7.

CHAPTER IV

THE ΧΑΡΙΣΜΑ OF TEACHING

Among the χαρίσματα related to the ministry of the Word is that of teaching. Explicit reference in some form is made to it in three of the four Pauline catalogues of gifts. In two instances the substantive, διδάσκαλοι is employed.¹ In the other case, a participial construction, ὁ διδάσκων occurs.² In addition to these occurrences a reference to the gift of teaching may be seen in the remaining list in the phrases the λόγος σοφίας and the λόγος γνώσεως.³ Furthermore, it is probable that the gift of teaching is included in the Petrine catalogue under the general category of speech.⁴ Its frequent mention in charismatic lists is suggestive of the importance which was attached to the gift in the early church and the necessity of carefully understanding precisely what is in view in this gift.

I. THE NATURE OF THE GIFT

The meaning of teaching. As is the case with the various other gifts, no formal definition of this χάρισμα is to be found in the New Testament. The student is left to infer its nature from what is said about it. Happily, however, the activity of teaching is a common phenomenon scarcely needing definition. While, of course, the content, methods, and objectives of the teaching process vary according to the context

¹ I Cor. 12:28; Eph. 4:11.

² Rom. 12:7.

³ I Cor. 12:8.

⁴ I Pet. 4:10f.

within which it is set, the activity per se consists in the communication of knowledge. It involves essentially two factors: (1) certain understandings on the part of the teacher, and (2) the ability to communicate these to others. It may be assumed, therefore, that the teacher in the apostolic church was one who possessed a body of information and was gifted with the ability to impart it effectively to others. Basic to the gift of teaching was knowledge.¹ The knowledge involved, however, did not come by flashes of revelation so much as by application to tradition. The teacher spoke under less evident inspiration than the prophet. His utterances were marked by rational insight and logical coherence. These characteristics distinguished the teacher also from the glossolalist.

It is not sufficient, however, to define teaching merely in terms of its technical character if the Biblical conception of teaching is to be understood. The New Testament teacher must be seen as a member of the Christian community. No less than the apostle and the prophet his ministry was conditioned by the Christ-event. He was supremely interested in that great, glad, new thing that had suddenly filled the horizon of the early Christian's thought and life. To put it briefly, he was not only a religious figure; he was Christocentrically oriented.²

If the Christian teacher was not concerned with the transmission of general information of a secular sort, neither was he content to deal with abstract and academic matters. He was wholly uninterested in the pursuit or transmission of knowledge for its own sake. He addressed not only the

¹ Cf. I Cor. 14:6 where $\gamma\upsilon\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ underlies $\delta\iota\delta\alpha\chi\eta$ just as $\pi\rho\phi\epsilon\tau\eta$ presupposes $\alpha\pi\alpha\kappa\lambda\upsilon\psi\iota\varsigma$.

² Cf. M. S. Fletcher, HDAC, II, pp. 551f.

intellect but the whole man. He felt called to the task of aiding men "in understanding the meaning of life in a God-centered world, and to guide them in finding, facing and fulfilling the divine will."¹ This was the function of the teacher in Judaism.² This was Jesus' aim as a teacher and this was the objective of the Christian teacher in the early church. Teaching was geared to a practical purpose. At the heart of the teacher's work was the existential note.

The relation of teaching to "the utterance of wisdom" and "the utterance of knowledge." Heading the list of *χαρίσματα* in I Cor. 12:8ff. are two gifts which are not mentioned as such in any other list. These gifts are *ὁ λόγος σοφίας* and *ὁ λόγος γνώσεως*. These gifts are nowhere defined but the terminology employed and the close relationship between "knowledge" and "teaching" in I Cor. 14:6 would suggest that these gifts may sustain some relationship with the gift of teaching.³ This clue is further strengthened by two additional observations: (1) Unless these gifts are related to the gift of teaching, the latter does not occur at all in this list. This omission would be hard to explain in the light of the prominent place it occupies in the other Pauline lists and in view of Paul's preference for the gifts that edify the church. (2) That these gifts do not look primarily in the

¹ F. V. Filson, "The Christian Teacher in the First Century," *JBL*, LX (1941), p. 318; cf. Rengstorff, *EWNT*, II, p. 144: "Das Neue an diesem Wortgebrauch der Evangelien ist die radikale Überwindung des intellektuellen Moments an *ἡ σοφία καὶ ἡ γνώσις*, das für den ausserbiblischen Sprachgebrauch charakteristisch ist."

² Cf. G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, I, chaps. V, VI.

³ Cf. also Rom. 15:14. For the association of teaching and wisdom vid. Col. 1:28; 3:16.

direction of prophecy may be gathered from the inclusion of the latter in this list at a later point (v. 10). The gift of apostleship could conceivably be in view, although elsewhere this gift is always referred to in a personalized form rather than in the abstract.¹ This does not mean, of course, that these gifts were unrelated either to the apostle or the prophet. It is more likely, however, that they should be regarded as the particular endowment of the teacher.²

At first glance it appears that Paul has in view two separate and distinct gifts which are possessed by different individuals in the Christian community. He says: "To one is given through the Spirit the utterance of wisdom, and to another (ἡ ἀλλοτρίωσις) the utterance of knowledge according to the same Spirit" (I Cor. 12:8). This conclusion is supported by the fact that the theme of the paragraph (vv. 4-11) is clearly the diversity of gifts each of which is inspired by the same Spirit and intended for the common good of the community. The point of diversity is further underscored by the analogy which Paul draws between the differentiated gifts and the varied organs of the physical body (vv. 12-26).

It is possible, however, that in referring to the distinction between these two gifts Paul may not be speaking with literal precision but rather somewhat loosely. It is clear, for example, that the three gifts which follow in the same catalogue (vv. 9f.) are closely related to each other and are not mutually exclusive. The interpreter must always beware

¹ Cf. I Cor. 12:28; Eph. 4:11.

² So Lauterburg, op. cit., p. 17; Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, I, p. 154; J. H. Ropes, The Apostolic Age, p. 189; et. al.

of a too wooden pin-pointed approach to an author's vocabulary, drawing subtle distinctions where none were intended.

If Paul's statement in v. 8 prima facie would suggest a distinction between the two gifts, the exegete finds it very difficult to distinguish sharply between them. This difficulty is attested by the great variety of views which are advanced in the standard commentaries and elsewhere on this passage. Illustrative of this wide spread of opinions is the following brief survey.

J. Weiss proposes that $\gamma\rho\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ is to be regarded as a form of higher knowledge which comes to a person by revelation rather than by rational reflection or by teaching.¹ It is closely associated with such terms as prophecy, mystery, and revelation (cf. I Cor. 12:2, 8ff.; 14:6). The "utterance of knowledge" may thus represent the activity of the prophet. $\Sigma\omicron\varphi\iota\alpha$, on the other hand, he would assign to the sphere of $\delta\iota\delta\alpha\chi\eta$. It, too, is a gift of the Spirit but it has to do with practical ethical judgments such as are represented in I Cor. 6:5 or I Cor. 7:7, 12, 25, 40. The "utterance of wisdom" thus belongs more properly to the work of the teacher.

C. Weizsäcker regards the "utterance of wisdom" and the "utterance of knowledge" as forms of $\delta\iota\delta\alpha\chi\eta$ and as such are to be distinguished from apocalypse and prophecy. He suggests that "the essential nature of 'the word of wisdom' lay in the rational reflection that shaped it

¹ MK, p. 300. He regards Paul's conception of $\gamma\rho\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ as influenced by the Hellenistic mystery usage. Cf. A. Reitzenstein, Die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen, pp. 135ff. For a comparative study of $\gamma\rho\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ in Paul's epistles and the mystery literature vid. H. A. A. Kennedy, St. Paul and the Mystery Religions, pp. 161-172, and the recent exhaustive work by Jacques Dupont, Gnosis, La Connaissance Religieuse dans les Épîtres de St. Paul, (1949).

In contrast with rational thought the essential character of Gnosis consisted in intuition."¹ $\gamma\nu\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$, however, is to be differentiated from apocalypse and prophecy in that $\gamma\nu\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ was an intuitive perception of truth "attributable to the operations of the Divine Spirit in man" but without the experience of audition, the hallmark of revelation, which underlay prophecy.²

B. Weiss regards the "utterance of knowledge" as "a sort of instruction which opens up a knowledge of the saving truth which goes deeper than the ordinary instruction" or $\delta\iota\delta\alpha\chi\acute{\eta}$.³ The "utterance of wisdom," on the other hand, is the making known to the church of the mysteries, mainly eschatological, of the Christian faith. The former was the function of the teacher, the latter the task of the prophet.

A. Schlatter proposes that the "utterance of wisdom" be understood as a word that looks to the future and shows to the community what the objectives of its conduct are. But the "utterance of knowledge" is a word which attempts to interpret to the community the present situation in which it finds itself in the light of God's will. The two are not mutually exclusive but complementary.⁴

R. St. John Parry, although confessing that the difference between $\sigma\omicron\phi\iota\alpha$ and $\gamma\nu\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ is not clear, nevertheless goes on to assert that $\sigma\omicron\phi\iota\alpha$ in Paul "seems always to have a concrete and practical direction In $\gamma\nu\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$, on the other hand, the thought is limited to the apprehension of truth." The "utterance of wisdom" then in

¹ Op. cit., II, p. 264; cf. also Schmiedel, EB, IV, col. 475f.

² Weizsäcker, op. cit., pp. 267f.

³ Biblical Theology of the New Testament, II, p. 34.

⁴ Paulus, pp. 339f.

its widest sense will be concerned with "the exposition of the ways of God in His dealings with men." The "utterance of knowledge" will have to do with "the exposition of the fundamental truths of the being and nature of God, the person of the Lord, and of the Holy Spirit, and of their relation to men."¹

H. L. Goudge regards wisdom as designating "the higher Christian knowledge" which is given only "to the mature Christian" and requires "the inward revelation of the Spirit." Knowledge, conversely, is more elementary and may be gained by study or by listening to others."²

H. Cremer maintains that the "utterance of knowledge" is related to the "utterance of wisdom" similarly to the way in which the gift of the interpretation of glossolalia is related to glossolalia. Thus the "*λόγος σοφίας*" denotes a perception of God's counsel and will beyond previous and general understanding of it, which the *λόγος γνώσεως* clearly expounds and applies."³

In contrast to the scholars who feel able to draw some sort of distinction between "the utterance of wisdom" and the "utterance of knowledge" in the passage under study, there are others who are less confident and refuse to do so. Bultmann thinks it is impossible to differentiate precisely between these two expressions.⁴ H. D. Wendland says "if and how

¹ CGT, *ad. loco.* For a similar distinction between *γνῶσις* and *σοφία* in which *γνῶσις* is confined to the apprehension of truth and *σοφία* to its exposition, coordination and application, *vid.* Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon* on Col. 2:3; Robertson and Plummer, *ICC* on I Cor. 12:8 with a certain hesitance.

² WC, *ad. loco.*; cf. Edwards, *I Cor.*, *ad. loco.*, for a similar distinction which he thinks is valid for this epistle.

³ *Biblico-Theological Lexicon*, p. 873.

⁴ *TWNT*, I, p. 707, n. 73.

Paul distinguishes these two from each other we cannot say."¹ Lietzmann regards Paul as speaking pleonastically as in I Cor. 12:4-6 and thus no careful distinction between the two can be demonstrated.²

Moffatt says: "No Greek would have drawn any distinction between words of wisdom and words of knowledge, and it is not easy to understand how Paul differentiated Christian wisdom from knowledge of God."³ W. Morgan is of the opinion that "the difference between the two can hardly have been considerable."⁴

The study of Paul's use of σοφία and γνῶσις outside this passage yields no sure clue to their distinction here. Σοφία, for example, in Col. 4:5 clearly has a practical connotation while in I Cor. 2:6ff. it would seem to carry a more theological meaning. Γνῶσις, although certainly having to do with the apprehension of truth, can hardly be regarded as limited solely to the area of speculative truth. Knowledge for the Hebrew mind was never a purely speculative exercise as Bultmann has clearly shown.⁵ Paul's use of γνῶσις in ethical contexts would also confirm the belief that the concept included both the apprehension of truth and an awareness of its relation to life and its significance

¹ NTD, VII, p. 94. Cf. also G. A. Jülicher, EB, II, col. 1740f., who thinks that Paul has in mind only the gift of teaching. Paul's basic expression is the λόγος γνῶσεως. He adds the phrase λόγος σοφίας, however, because the Corinthians had attached great importance to wisdom and some of them may even have become followers of Apollos as being the man of wisdom. Thus "it occurred to Paul that he ought not to allow it to appear as if he did not recognize the 'word of wisdom' of (say) an Apollos as being a charisma also, as well as his own 'word of knowledge.'"

² HNT, ad. loco.

³ MNTC, ad. loco. Cf. also E. F. Scott's (MNTC) comment on Col. 2:3.

⁴ The Religion and Theology of Paul, p. 165.

⁵ TWNT, I, pp. 696ff.

for conduct.¹ It should be pointed out also that in two passages Paul links wisdom and knowledge without indicating what, if any, distinction there is between them (Rom. 11:33; Col. 2:3).² Perhaps this combination represents something of a stock phrase in which the mention of one member also suggested the other.³

Not infrequently in Paul's epistles both σοφία and γνῶσις are associated with the same general conceptions. If γνῶσις prepares a Christian for teaching (Rom. 15:14) and edifies the Christian community (I Cor. 14:6), σοφία is that with which the teaching process is concerned and promotes fulness of life in the community (Col. 1:28, 3:16). If σοφία is insight into the deeper reaches of God's wondrous purpose in Christ (I Cor. 2:6ff.; Eph. 1:7f.) γνῶσις can hardly avoid being concerned with the same province of truth (II Cor. 11:6, I Cor. 8:1-6). If σοφία can have a practical reference (Col. 4:5), γνῶσις also is not divorced from Christian conduct (I Cor. 8; Col. 1:9f.).⁴ If σοφία

¹ Weiss, *KK*, p. 300, has suggested that Paul's choice of the term σοφία in preference to γνῶσις in I Cor. 2:6-16 is due to the Corinthian's use of this word. The real concept, however, with which Paul is working is γνῶσις. Cf. Jülicher, *loc. cit.*

² For the conjunction of σοφία and γνῶσις in the Old Testament see Eccl. 1:16, 17, 18; 2:21; 9:10; 30:3. For a similar juxtaposition of ideas but with some difference of terminology see Deut. 4:6, II Chron. 1:10, 12; Isa. 11:2; Prov. 2:6, 8:12; Eccl. 2:26; Bar. 3:14; Ecclus. 1:19; Sifre Numb. 41 on 6:25; Phil. 1:9; Col. 1:9; Eph. 1:17, Barn. 2:3; 21:5.

³ In the three passages, Rom. 11:33; I Cor. 12:8; Col. 2:3, the order is the same: wisdom and knowledge. This, however, may be accidental.

⁴ No clear consistent distinction can be drawn between γνῶσις and ἐπιγνώσις (which occurs in Col. 1:9); cf. Bultmann, *TKNT*, I, p. 707. Even if J. A. Robinson's (*Eph.*, p. 254) distinction is accepted, the point here made is unaffected. Perhaps also the practical needs of the Corinthian community are primarily in mind in Paul's reference to γνῶσις in I Cor. 1:5; so Schlatter, *Paulus*, p. 62, would understand it.

is associated with *μυστήρια* and *ἀποκάλυψις* (I Cor. 2:6-16; Eph. 1:17), so *γνῶσις* keeps similar company (I Cor. 13:2, 14:6).¹

These observations simply reinforce the earlier conclusion: whatever distinction Paul may have had in mind in I Cor. 12:8, it is impossible to recover it with any degree of certainty.

These gifts of knowledge and wisdom are not to be identified with the general Christian knowledge, insight, or understanding which the community possessed. They are not general gifts to the entire community but special gifts to particular individuals. But if these gifts have to do with insights beyond those granted to other members in the community, they are not unrelated to the core of the community's faith and life. They have to do with clearer perceptions of the gospel in its vast reaches and its implications for the whole of life--a gospel to which the Christian community both in faith and life has committed itself. They have nothing to do with esoteric doctrines out of all relation to what Christians already know and believe. These gifts presuppose a certain core of Christian understanding and in their exercise serve to deepen, broaden, enrich and make fruitful in action the Christian faith in its wholeness.

The relation of teaching to preaching in the early church. The evidence of the New Testament clearly indicates not only that both teaching and preaching go back to the earliest days of the Christian church but that they are intimately associated. The Jewish leadership shortly after Pentecost was annoyed when they found that the apostles "were teaching

¹ Weiss, *MK*, p. 300, stresses the connection of *γνῶσις* with revelation. It may be better, however, to regard I Cor. 14:6 as consisting of two coordinate pairs in which revelation and prophecy are related and likewise knowledge and teaching; *vid. supra* p. 150. In I Cor. 13:2, however, the association of 'mysteries' and 'knowledge' would seem to be rather intimate.

the people and proclaiming (καταγγελλέν) in Jesus the resurrection from the dead" (Acts 4:2). Luke sums up his account of the earliest scenes from the life of the Jerusalem church by saying: "And every day in the temple and at home they [apostles] did not ceasing teaching and preaching (ἐὺ καταγγελλόντες) Jesus as the Christ" (Acts 5:42). This same juxtaposition of teaching and preaching may be observed as the gospel moved out from Jerusalem to other centers, such as Antioch (Acts 15:35), Ephesus (Acts 20:20, 25), and Rome (Acts 28:31).

The evidence of Acts is corroborated by certain references in the epistles which also bring teaching and preaching into close relationship. If Paul preached in Corinth (I Cor. 1:17, 23; 2:1), he also taught there (I Cor. 4:17; 7:17; cf. Acts 18:11). To the Colossians he says: "Him [Christ] we proclaim, warning every man and teaching every man in all wisdom that we may present every man mature in Christ" (Col. 1:2f.). Timothy is enjoined both to "preach the word" and to "be unfailing . . . in teaching" (II Tim. 4:2). We are also informed in the Pastorals that certain elders laboured both "in preaching and teaching" (I Tim. 5:17).

This close relationship between teaching and preaching in the early church merely continues a similar connection which may be observed in the ministry of Jesus as reported in the Synoptic Gospels. In Mark 1:14 and 38f. Jesus is said to have been preaching, but in the intervening incident He was teaching (Mark 1:21f.). On one occasion the disciples were sent forth by Jesus on a mission to the cities of Galilee. Mark says, "they went out and preached that men should repent" (Mark 6:12). But when they returned they reported to Jesus "all that they had done and taught" (Mark 6:30). One more example may be cited. Luke records that during passion week Jesus "was teaching the people in the temple and

preaching the gospel" (20:1).

The evidence of the New Testament, however, would not warrant the conclusion that no distinction existed between preaching and teaching in the early church. But the passages cited indicate how difficult, if not impossible, it is to differentiate sharply between the two. The familiar and widely accepted distinction advanced by C. H. Dodd seems to go beyond what the evidence will support.¹ The content of the teaching and preaching activity of the early church surely overlapped. This is clear not only from certain references in Acts² but also passages in the epistles which refer to "teaching" and "tradition." Doubtless in these latter passages³ ethical instruction is in view but surely not only such teaching. I Cor. 15:1ff. clearly indicates a wider connotation of the term tradition than merely ethics. Such seems to be the case also in I Thess. 2:15.⁴ Indeed, we may agree with John Knox when he writes:

One could not proclaim the good news of Christ without attempting at the same time to explain its meaning and to support this meaning with arguments and examples, and without drawing out some of

¹ C. H. Dodd distinguishes between the kerygma which constituted the message of the Christian missionary in his public proclamation of Christianity to the non-Christian world and the didache which he assigns to the teacher within the Christian community. The former was "the proclamation of the fundamental facts of the Gospel in their religious significance . . . the mighty acts in which God establishes His new covenant with His people"; the latter constituted "the moral instructions grounded upon them"; The Gospel and Law, p. 12; cf. his book, The Apostolic Preaching, pp. 7f. Dodd built upon a distinction already made by M. Dibelius, From Tradition to Gospel, chap. II. For a criticism of Dodd vid. R. N. Flew, op. cit., pp. 111f.; J. D. Smart, The Teaching Ministry of the Church, pp. 17ff.; J. Knox, The Integrity of Preaching, pp. 49-54.

² Vid. Acts 5:42, 15:35, 28:31, and the other references cited by Flew together with his comments, loc. cit.

³ Vid. I Cor. 4:17; 11:2; Rom. 6:17; 16:17; Eph. 4:20f.; Phil. 4:9; Col. 1:7; 2:6f.; I Thess. 4:1f.; II Thess. 2:15; 3:6.

⁴ Frame, ICC, ad. loco.; Neil, MNTC, ad. loco.; J. W. Bailey, IB, XI, ad. loco.

its ethical implications. And one could not, in the manner of the teacher, interpret the meaning of the Christian life itself without reminding one's hearers constantly of the event of Christ.¹

A fresh suggestion has recently been offered by James D. Smart which may offer a fruitful approach to the relation of teaching and preaching in the early church.

The content of preaching and teaching is the same. But preaching essentially is the proclamation of the Word of God to man in his unbelief. Both outside and inside the Church that definition proves adequate. Preaching is the call of men in their sin and unbelief to repent and receive the good news that God is ready to come to them, and that by the power of his Word and his Spirit dwelling in them he will establish them in the glad free life of His Kingdom. We need the preaching of the Word as Christians, because no matter how far we have gone in faith, there still remains a root of sin and unbelief in us, a place in each of us into which the humbling, transforming word of the gospel has not yet come What then is teaching? Teaching essentially (but not exclusively) addressed itself to the situation of the man who has repented and turned to God and to the situation of children of believers who through the influence of their parents have in them a measure of faith, even though they have also in them a large measure of unbelief.²

Perhaps it is best to admit that the real distinction between the two is not known to us. Probably until the rise of the classical sermon in the later church the distinction between the two was not sharply drawn. Thus the same confusion which seems to mark the Synoptic account of the teaching-preaching ministry of Jesus and his disciples is also reflected in the early church.

II. THE DIFFUSION OF THE GIFT

Were the teachers a clearly defined group in the community? There are certain passages which suggest that the function of teaching rested

¹ The Integrity of Preaching, pp. 49f.; cf. Filson, "The Christian Teacher in the First Century," op. cit., p. 325.

² Op. cit., pp. 19f.

with the Christian community as a whole rather than particular persons who were recognized as teachers. Three passages in particular may be cited as supporting this general reference. (1) Paul speaks of the Roman church as being "full of goodness, filled with all knowledge and able to instruct one another" (Rom. 15:14). Although this statement might be pressed to mean that each member of the community possessed the gift of teaching, Rom. 12:7 would seem to limit the gift more narrowly. Probably Paul means no more than that the gift of instruction was richly present in the church. (2) The Christian community at Colossae is addressed in words which might suggest a general exercise of the gift of teaching: "Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom, teaching and admonishing one another in psalms, hymns and spiritual songs singing with thankfulness in your hearts to God" (Col. 3:16).¹ The situation appears to be that of a public worship service. One of the media by which the ministry of mutual edification is to be discharged is that of song. This may be a form of teaching but it does not exhaust the gift of teaching as envisioned in I Cor. 12:28, Rom. 12:7 and Eph. 4:11.² (3) One passage in Hebrews (5:12) seems to imply that after a period of normal spiritual growth the members of the Christian community were expected to discharge a teaching ministry. It may be granted, of course, that the attainment of a reasonable degree of spiritual maturity should enable any

¹ This is my rendering of Scouter's text. The Greek syntax of this passage is somewhat ambiguous; cf. Lohmeyer, MK, ad. loco.; C. F. D. Moule, CGTC, ad. loco. But regardless of the construction adopted, the point in question is not really affected. In light of Eph. 5:19 (cf. I Cor. 14:26) it appears that song was regarded as having didactic value.

² Greeven, op. cit., p. 17, regards this passage as meaning no more than that each is called to use his gift for the edification of the community.

man regardless of his particular gift to provide some spiritual guidance and help for those who are babes in Christ. It is doubtful, however, whether this passage ought to be pressed to mean that each member of the community should be able to discharge a teaching ministry in the more restricted sense of the word. Probably, all that the author is trying to do is "to shame his friends out of their imperfect grasp of their religion."¹

Over against these passages² which might seem to universalize the teaching function in the Christian community are clear references to teachers as a restricted group within the church. They are distinguished from apostles, prophets and other variously gifted persons (I Cor. 12:28, Eph. 4:11) and Paul definitely implies that not all Christians are teachers (I Cor. 12:29).³ The teachers, therefore, were certain individuals in the church who possessed the gift of teaching in a special sense and who were recognized as called to this particular service in the community.⁴

If the teacher may be distinguished from other gifted individuals in the church, it should not be forgotten that frequently the gift of teaching was combined with other gifts in the same person. The Jerusalem

¹ J. Moffatt, ICC, ad. loco.

² Cf. also I Tim. 2:12 and the observation of Schweizer, Das Leben des Herrn, p. 58, n. 32, also p. 88, that the prohibition against women teaching implies that it was open to all men. This passage, however, implies no more than that men rather than women were to teach in the church.

³ Cf. Acts 13:1; Jas. 3:1.

⁴ Greeven, op. cit., p. 17: "Die $\delta\iota\delta\alpha\sigma\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\iota$ müssen bestimmte, als solche bekannte und anerkannte Gemeindeglieder gewesen sein." Cf. also J. W. Bailey, "The Teacher in the Early Church," The Biblical World, XXXVIII (1911), pp. 51f.

apostles, for example, are represented in the early chapters of Acts as teaching on various occasions.¹ Paul speaks of himself as exercising the gift of teaching² and is so represented in Acts³ and in the Pastorals.⁴ The gifts of prophecy and teaching, likewise, were not mutually exclusive as has already been noted. It is likely, too, that the gifts of evangelism and teaching may have frequently been found in the same person if modern missionary experience may be a guide to understanding the situation in the early church. Again this is not to identify the two but merely to point out that teaching was in some degree a part of the work of all leaders in the early church. That this was true in the local Christian community may be gathered from I Thess. 5:12 where probably the same group of persons is regarded as exercising various functions one of which was teaching (νοῦθετοῦντας).⁵ In the Pastorals the association of teaching with various recognized roles of leadership in the church is explicitly made.⁶

¹ Acts 4:2, 5:21, 25, 42. Teaching was a part of the apostles' work from the very beginning; cf. Filson, "The Christian Teacher in the First Century," *op. cit.*, pp. 321f.; also E. Fascher, "Jesus der Lehrer," *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, LXXIX (1954), col. 336: "Als εὐαγγελιστοὶ καὶ διδάσκαλοι sind die apostel bezeichnet."

² I Cor. 4:17; Col. 1:28; II Thess. 2:15.

³ Acts 11:26; 15:35; 18:11; 20:20; 21:21, 28; 28:31.

⁴ I Tim. 2:7; II Tim. 1:11.

⁵ Cf. Frame, *ICC*, *ad. loco.*; Neil, *MNTC*, *ad. loco.*; J. W. Bailey, *IB*, XI, *ad. loco.*

⁶ A bishop must be "an apt teacher" (I Tim. 3:2; cf. Tit. 1:9); certain elders "labor in . . . teaching" (I Tim. 5:17). Timothy as a preacher and an evangelist is also commanded to teach (I Tim. 4:11, 6:2; II Tim. 4:2).

The geographical diffusion of the gift. Although the occurrence of διδάσκαλος in the sense of Christian teacher is not very frequent in the New Testament, the activity of teachers is prominently to the fore. In the earliest days of the primitive church the apostles were active as teachers in the Christian community in Jerusalem. With the lapse of time and the subsequent growth and expansion of the church the need for teachers and teaching increased. The development of the implications of the new faith and its application to the problems of daily life became an urgent necessity. The accession of converts who were not contemporary witnesses of the historical ministry of Jesus, the growing conflict with the synagogue and the emergence of heretical tendencies within the Christian movement further served to highlight the importance of the teaching function.¹

How soon the teacher as a distinct figure appeared in the apostolic church we do not know.² The term διδάσκαλος occurs only once in Acts and then in conjunction with προφήται in such a way as to suggest that prophet-teachers are in view rather than teachers as a distinct

¹ Fascher, "Jesus der Lehrer," op. cit., col. 336f., points out that the peculiar status which Jesus occupied as teacher and Lord in the thought of the early church made the immediate development of an order in the Christian community like the Jewish rabbinate impossible. The early Christians could only be disciples or brethren; cf. also Schweizer, Das Leben des Herrn, p. 26. Schlatter, The Church in the New Testament Period, pp. 201f. finds in Matt. 23:7-10 (cf. Jas. 3:1) the reflection of a reluctance on the part of Palestinian Christianity to admit the "rabbi" into the church. This was due to its cautious attitude toward Pharisaic piety. K. Stendahl, The School of St. Matthew, p. 30, sees, however, in Matt. 23:7-10 evidence that teachers did exist in the church out of which this gospel came; cf. also Matt. 23:34.

² L. J. Sherrill, The Rise of Christian Education, p. 143, observes that when the early Christian missionaries prolonged their stay in a city preaching tended to be absorbed into teaching; cf. Acts 11:26; 15:35; 18:11; 20:20, 25, 31.

group.¹ Teachers, however, were known in Corinth (I Cor. 12:28). Ephesus (Eph. 4:11),² and in the community to which the epistle of James was addressed (3:1).³ In the last instance the writer cautions against a too eager assumption of the role of a teacher in view of the serious responsibilities attaching to it. Paul in Gal. 6:6 alludes to the activity of Christian teachers in the Galatian church. Likewise, in his letter to the Colossians Paul refers to their having been taught perhaps by Epaphras or some unknown teacher or teachers in the church there (2:11; cf. 1:7). The figure of the teacher was probably not unknown in the community to which Hebrews was addressed as may be gathered from the author's chiding comment in 5:12.⁴ Timothy was enjoined to teach (I Tim. 4:11) and to see to it that other qualified men would continue this task (II Tim. 2:2). The scattered warnings against false teachers found in the late New Testament writings also presuppose acquaintance with the ministry of genuine Christian teachers.⁵ It would appear, therefore, that the Christian teach-

¹ Acts 13:1; on this passage vid. supra p. 161, n. 2. Cf. also Acts 15:35.

² Cf. Acts 18:25f where reference is made to the teaching ministry of Apollos in Ephesus and also his further instruction there at the hands of Priscilla and Aquila.

³ The date and place of origin of this epistle are much disputed. J. B. Mayor, James, chaps. VI, VII, argued for an early date and a Jerusalem setting. The general tendency among modern scholars is to assign it to the latter part of the first century and to be less certain about the place of origin. Vid. the standard commentaries.

⁴ The Epistle to the Hebrews is generally regarded as addressed to the church (or a segment of it) in Rome. The date is much disputed. W. Manson, The Epistle to the Hebrews, pp. 162ff. has recently argued for an early date, c.A.D. 60. Many scholars would place it somewhat later.

⁵ E.g. II Tim. 4:3; Tit. 1:11; II Pet. 2:1ff.; Jude 1, 8ff.; Rev. 2:14, 20.

er was a well-nigh universal phenomenon in the apostolic church.¹

III. THE FUNCTION AND MATERIALS OF TEACHING

Teaching and the tradition. Teaching in the early church had to do with the transmission of Christian tradition.² But what was the content of the tradition with which teaching was concerned? To be sure, it had to do with ethics but it was not limited to materials of this sort. It included all the sayings of Jesus, the prophetic and apocalyptic as well as the paraenetical. The story materials also should not be excluded.³ Furthermore, all the kerygmatic and confessional formulations of the primitive church likewise formed part of the tradition.⁴ Indeed, the limits can not be sharply drawn.⁵ That the Christian teacher should have

¹ Christian teachers were known also to the author of the Didache (13:2; 15:1f.) and Hermas, Vis., III, 5, 1; Mand., IV, 3, 1, Sim. IX, 15, 4; IX, 16, 5; IX, 25, 2. Barn. (1:8; 4:9), however, disclaimed the status of a teacher. For the application of the title to Polycarp see Martyrdom of Polycarp 12:2; 16:2; 19:1. Teachers maintained their identity in the church longer than either apostles or prophets; cf. Harnack, op. cit., I, pp. 354ff.; cf. also pp. 334ff.

² It is clear that such terms as παραλαμβάνειν, παραδίδόναι and παραδότης represent rabbinical termini technici for tradition (παραλαμβάνειν = לָקַח; παραδίδόναι = לָתַת; παραδότης = מְלַמֵּד); e.g. Mk. 7:3f.; 8, 13; cf. Str.-B., III, p. 444; also TWNT, II, pp. 173ff.; IV, pp. 14f. The association of διδάχαι and διδάσκειν with these termini technici in the epistles indicates that teaching in the early church had to do with the stuff of tradition; cf. Gal. 1:12; II Thess. 2:15; Col. 2:6f.; Rom. 6:17.

³ Dibelius, From Tradition to Gospel, p. 70, suggests that there were "story-tellers" who handled the 'tales' about Jesus. They were distinct from the teachers who were concerned with the teachings of Jesus. There is no evidence, however, for the existence of such a group. Cf. F. V. Filson, "The Christian Teacher in the First Century," op. cit., p. 325: "One and the same man could tell stories about Jesus and repeat his saying."

⁴ E.g. I Cor. 15:3f.

been concerned with the total corpus of traditional material is likely when it is remembered that such indeed was the case with the teacher in Judaism.¹

The teacher and ethical guidance. One of the primary functions of the Christian teacher was to provide guidance in the practical problems of Christian conduct.² The need for this type of help was accentuated by such factors as the following: (1) There was no corpus of ready-made Christian law at hand to which the church could appeal for help as was the case in Pharisaism. There were the teachings of Jesus, but these needed to be gathered, interpreted and applied to the living needs of the church. (2) Although the converts from Judaism came to Christianity with a background in which morality was stressed, now that they had become Christian, many of "these rules had to be unlearned and new rules put in their place."³ The task of re-education was not an easy one. This is attested by the tendency which is evident repeatedly in the New Testament to lapse into a Judaized form of Christianity. (3) Those who came to Christianity via a pagan background were particularly in need of moral and ethical instruction. The general tone of moral life in the Graeco-Roman world was not especially noteworthy. It was easy for Christians coming out of such a world to substitute religious emotionalism for practical Christian ethics. Antinomianism under the cloak of grace posed a constant threat to genuine Christian morality.⁴ Although Christianity

¹ Cf. G. F. Moore, op. cit., I, pp. 319ff.

² For a suggestive list of the more important problems which the church faced see Sherrill, op. cit., pp. 137ff.

³ B. S. Easton, Christ in the Gospels, p. 31.

⁴ Cf. Romans 6:1, 14; Jude 4.

was much more than merely a new ethic, it was nevertheless deeply concerned about the ordering of the whole of life under the Lordship of Christ. For guidance in the way of discipleship, the church looked to its teachers.

That such guidance was forthcoming is attested not only by the abundance of hortatory material which is scattered throughout the New Testament but also by specific references to a definite core of teaching which clearly related to Christian conduct. An interesting example of such a reference is found in I Cor. 4:17. Paul informs the Corinthians that he is sending Timothy "to remind you of my ways in Christ as I teach them everywhere in every church."¹ Timothy was expected to refresh the memory of the Corinthians with respect to the corpus of practical ethical teaching which Paul had given to them as well as to other Christian communities. Mention may be made also of Rom. 6:17 where Paul refers to "the standard of teaching"² to which the Roman church had been committed. The context of the reference is strongly ethical in its orientation. This would suggest that Paul has ethical teaching primarily in mind.³ It is not likely, of course, that Paul has only such instructions in mind, for it is improbable that the early church ever sharply separated ethics from its religious

¹ *Τὰς ἐντολὰς καὶ τὰς ἐν Χριστῷ*. That an ethical reference is in view here may be assumed on the basis of the terminology employed. In the LXX the singular *ἐντολή* (Ex. 32:8; Deut. 5:33; Psa. 25:12; 119:27) and the plural *ἐντολαί* (Deut. 8:6, 10:12; II Sam. 22:22; Psa. 119:8; Isa. 42:24) were standing expressions of God's laws in accordance with which man was expected to live. It may be observed that the LXX frequently puts the plural for the singular of the Masoretic text (Gen. 18:19; Ex. 18:20). Cf. *TWNT*, V, pp. 50ff.; also Moffatt, *MNTC*, ad. loco.; Schlatter, *Paulus*, pp. 164f.; C. Weizsäcker, *op. cit.*, II, p. 262.

² *Τὸ πρὸς ἡμᾶς*

³ So Denney, *EGT*, II, ad. loco.; cf. Hort, *Prolegomena*, pp. 32f.

and theological rootage.¹ Further evidence that teaching was concerned with a corpus of ethical instruction may be found in I Thess. 4:1ff. Paul refers to the instructions which the Thessalonians had received and which provided them with the necessary information as to how they "ought to live and to please God." Particularly in view in this context is abstinence from immorality. But the tradition which they had received from Paul also included instruction regarding personal labour and self support (II Thess. 3:6-12). Furthermore, a reference may be seen in Col. 2:6f. to the practical instruction in Christian living which had been given to the Colossians.² Finally, attention may be called to Eph. 4:20f. where the context clearly indicates that instruction in Christian ethics is primarily in view when Paul says of the Ephesian Christians: "You did not so learn Christ--assuming that you have heard about him and were taught in him as the truth is in Jesus."

Now probably instruction such as this was what was expected from the teacher in the $\delta\iota\delta\alpha\chi\eta$ which he contributed in the worship assembly of the church.³ Light was needed on some pressing problem of conduct. The teacher out of his acquaintance with available relevant materials and his understanding of their implication for life was able to speak a word of guidance in the situation at hand.

The sources from which such instruction might be drawn were various. The Old Testament, of course, was the Bible of the early church and con-

¹ Cf. Filson, "The Christian Teacher in the First Century," op. cit., p. 325: "We have no instance from the first century where any leader presented moral exhortation without both religious basis and accompanying religious instruction;" also Cullmann, Christ and Time, pp. 224ff.

² Note especially the significant verbs $\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\lambda\alpha\beta\epsilon\tau\epsilon$. . . $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$. . . $\epsilon\delta\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\chi\theta\eta\tau\epsilon$.

³ I Cor. 14:26; cf. v. 6. Vid. Schlatter, Paulus, p. 383.

stituted one of the sources from which ethical instruction was derived.¹ Doubtless, the later non-canonical wisdom literature of Judaism was not without its influence in Christian circles.² It is probable also that Jewish ethical instruction such as is represented, for example, in the derk 'eretz literature was known to Paul and may have supplied precedents for the early Christian leaders in their work of moral education.³ The ethical tradition of various apocalyptic sects in Judaism should not be overlooked. The Dead Sea Scrolls have recently shed much light on a hitherto all too little known aspect of Christian background.⁴ It is possible also that materials used in the Hellenistic Jewish synagogues for the training of proselytes, and perhaps certain materials drawn from pagan Hellenistic social codes may have been utilized by Christian

¹ E.g. the Old Testament is quoted as offering ethical guidance in the following Pauline passages: Rom. 12:19; 13:8; 14:11; 15:3; I Cor. 6:16; 9:9; 10:7; 26; II Cor. 6:16ff.; 8:15; 9:9; Gal. 5:14, 3:31; 6:2f.; cf. E. E. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p. 125. Selwyn, I Peter, p. 435, thinks there is sufficient evidence from Paul, Peter, and John to conclude that Prov. 3 was much used in the early church for purposes of ethical instruction.

² E.g. Moffatt, The General Epistles, MNTC, p. 4: "The homily of James shows us on every page how instinctively the writer drew upon these books [Sirach and the Wisdom of Solomon] for his exposition of the Christian wisdom or practical philosophy of life." Cf. also Charles, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, I, pp. 294f.

³ For a full discussion of the relation of Paul and the early church to this and similar Jewish ethical material see Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 122-136; Daube, op. cit., chap. V; G. Klein, Der Altestestamentliche Katechismus.

⁴ Particular attention may be called to the DSD; but not to be neglected is also the previously discovered CD.

teachers.¹ But whatever materials were used in Christian circles from Old Testament, Jewish, and pagan sources were given a wholly new setting and orientation. They were baptized into Christ and in the process were given new meaning. In any event, it is not to these sources that one must look for the ultimate origin of the ethical teaching of the early church.²

The primary source of the ethical material employed by the Christian teachers was, of course, the teachings of Jesus. That Jesus was widely recognized as a teacher by both friend and foe among His contemporaries needs no documentation. The Synoptic gospels, particularly Matthew, preserve a rich deposit of His teachings.³ In Matt. 28:20 Jesus, as the risen Lord, is represented as commissioning His disciples to teach newly made disciples "to observe all that I have commanded you." Although the reference to "the apostles' teaching" in the primitive Jerusalem church doubtless includes much more than Jesus' ethical teachings, these are not

¹ Selwyn, I Peter, pp. 437ff.; cf. also Hunter, Paul and His Predecessors, pp. 64ff.; K. Weidinger, Die Haustafeln, chaps. III-V. It is difficult, however, in the case of such material to ascertain when the borrowing was direct from pagan sources and when it was mediated through the Hellenistic synagogue.

² Rengstorff, TWNT, II, p. 150, observes that although Paul had great respect for the Old Testament, it was not made the ultimate basis of his ethic. Cf. Weiss, I Cor., NK, p. 119, who stresses the significance of the phrase ἐν κυρίῳ ἡ χάρις (the reading he prefers) in I Cor. 4:17 for the proper understanding of the ethical instruction referred to in that passage.

³ Stendahl, The School of St. Matthew, has recently argued that the Gospel of Matthew represents a manual for teaching and administration within the church which was issued by a school for teachers and church leaders.

to be excluded.¹ At first it may appear strange that Paul explicitly refers to so few actual words of Jesus.² But the more closely Paul's ethical exhortations are examined, the more clearly the influence of the logia of Jesus may be discerned.³ It may be concluded from Paul's explicit references to, as well as his implicit use of, the sayings of Jesus that he had access to such a collection upon which he was able to levy as occasion demanded.⁴ We may assume that what was available to Paul was surely no private possession but was to some extent at least also available to other teachers in the church.

The teacher and the Old Testament. If the teachers in the early church sought to give practical guidance in the area of Christian conduct, this was not their sole task. Doubtlessly, another one of their functions was to expound the kerygma in the light of the Old Testament.⁵ That such an approach was made to the understanding of the Old Testament is clearly attested in the New. The earliest sermons in Acts show such a documentation of the kerygma from the Old Testament. To be sure, the apostles took

¹ Acts 2:42; cf. R. N. Flew, op. cit., p. 112: "In Acts 11:42 the word didache must include the ethical teaching of Jesus as related to the new message which was being preached." Cf. also Rackham, WC, ad. loco.

² Hunter, Paul and His Predecessors, pp. 53f., lists at the most five: I Cor. 7:10; 9:14; 11:23ff.; I Thess. 4:15f. (?); Acts 20:35.

³ For an impressive collection of the evidence see W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 136ff., who builds on the work of Alfred Resch, Der Paulinismus und die Logia Jesu; cf. also Hunter, Paul and His Predecessors, pp. 52-61.

⁴ Cf. I Cor. 7:25 and the attempt to reconstruct the Sitz im Leben by Dibelius, From Tradition to Gospel, pp. 242f.

⁵ R. N. Flew, op. cit., p. 114; Lietzmann, The Beginnings of the Christian Church, p. 113; vid., however, Rengstorf, TWNT, II, p. 119, who appears to assign this function to the apostle rather than the teacher.

the lead in this activity.¹ It is entirely likely that the references to the teaching activity of the apostles in the early chapters of Acts where the unbelieving Jewish community is involved may represent teaching in which this element assumed large proportions.² The apologetic value of this type of teaching is obvious and for this reason we may expect that it continued to play a role in the missionary outreach of the church. Even in Gentile Christian communities it was of value because it provided a defense against the attack of Judaism as is illustrated by the epistle to the Galatians. The missionary and apologetic significance of this type of teaching should not lead us to assume that it had no abiding place in the ongoing life of the established Christian community.³ Although within the church such an exposition of the Old Testament would not serve to awaken faith, it would nonetheless strengthen it and enlarge the Christian's understanding and appreciation of the Christ-event.⁴

The teacher and catechetical instruction. There is no explicit reference in the New Testament to catechetical instruction as part of the function of the teacher. The verb *κατηχεῖν* which later came to design-

¹ Presumably they took their cue from Jesus' own understanding of His relation to the Old Testament; e.g. Luke 24:27, 32, 45. Cf. Dodd, According to the Scriptures, p. 110.

² E.g. Acts 4:2, 18; 5:21, 25, 42. Perhaps attention may also be called to the interesting reading of the Western text in Acts 18:4: *εἰσπορευόμενος δὲ εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν κατὰ πᾶν σάββατον διελέγετο, καὶ ἐντιθεὶς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, καὶ ἐπειθεν δὲ οὐ μόνον τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἕλληνας.*

³ Contra Rengstorff, TWNT, II, p. 149, who thinks that it played no role in the Christian community. Thus when teaching within the church is in view, as in Rom. 12:7, he construes the reference to be to instruction regarding a manner of life.

⁴ The epistle to the Hebrews may be an attempt on the part of a Christian teacher to do this sort of thing.

nate such formal instruction¹ occurs in seven passages. In two instances it is used in the quite colorless sense of "inform" (Acts 21:21, 24). Once it refers to Jewish instruction in the law (Rom. 2:18). In I Cor. 14:19 it carries the sense of religious instruction, although the context does not suggest catechetical instruction. Its use in Luke 1:4 probably is to be understood in the non-technical sense.² Of more interest are Acts 18:25 and Gal. 6:6. In the first passage its use, coupled as it is with ἀκροβυσ, would seem to refer to more exact knowledge than could be gained by casual hearsay.³ Perhaps some formal instruction, inadequate though it was, had been given to Apollos either before or after he became a Christian. The second passage has in view a recognized exercise of the gift of teaching but there is no indication that catechetical instruction is particularly in mind.

If explicit confirmation of the catechetical function of the Christian teacher is lacking in our New Testament sources, it is quite possible, especially as the church moved out into the Gentile world, that some catechetical instruction was given.⁴ It is only natural to suppose that in

¹ Beyer, TWNT, III, p. 639, cites II Clem. 17:1 as an example of such usage.

² So Cadbury, BC, II, pp. 508f.; Beyer, TWNT, III, p. 640.

³ Vid. Haenchen, MK, ad. loco.; but cf. BC, IV, ad. loco.

⁴ Such instruction may be in view in Rom. 6:17; cf. Sanday and Headlam, ICC, ad. loco. W. Robinson, "Historical Survey of the Church's Treatment of New Converts with Reference to Pre- and Post-Baptismal Instruction," JTS, XLII (1941), pp. 42-53, denies pre-baptismal instruction in the New Testament period. H. G. Marsh, The Origin and Significance of New Testament Baptism, p. 174, thinks it may sometimes have occurred. P. Carrington, The Primitive Christian Catechism, p. 89, holds that there was baptismal instruction but leaves the question open whether it was pre or post-baptismal; cf. also Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 121; pp. 128f.; Daube, op. cit., chap. V.

this task the missionaries would have had the assistance of Christian teachers.¹

The teacher and the shaping of the Gospel tradition. Since World War I the investigations of the formgeschichtliche school have opened up new insights into the early history of the Gospel tradition. It has been the merit of this method of research to emphasize the intimate relation of the Gospel materials to the life of the early church. We are not concerned here with all of the various formative forces which were operative during the period when the oral tradition was taking shape. It should not be forgotten, however, that the church which produced the Gospels as we now have them was a church in which there were teachers. What influence, if any did they exert upon the formation of this material?

It has already been observed that the teacher was not restricted to a particular segment of the tradition such as the ethical teachings of Jesus but was concerned with the total corpus.² Thus no part remained unexposed to their influence. It is likely, for example, that teachers may have been responsible for the grouping together of certain stories of or about Jesus which share a common motif.³ Such a grouping of stories would be a convenience to the teacher and an aid to the memory of those who were taught. Similar collections of sayings around common

¹ Cf. A. C. Headlam, "The Origin of the Christian Ministry," The Ministry and the Sacraments, ed. by R. Dunkerly, p. 329: "No doubt he [teacher] took a large part in the catechetical instruction of new converts." R. O. P. Taylor, The Groundwork of the Gospels, pp. 21-26, has suggested that John Mark served in the capacity of a catechist on the first missionary journey of Paul and Barnabas (Acts 13:5); cf. also E. Jacquier, Les Actes des Apôtres (1926), p. 383.

² Vid. supra pp. 214f.

³ E.g. Mark 2:1-3:6 may represent such a collection; cf. V. Taylor, Mark, 91f.; for further examples consult his full discussion of the literary structure of the gospel, pp. 90-104; 133.

themes (Stichworte) likely are the production of teachers who were concerned that the words of Jesus should be remembered.¹ Probably Q and the early literary attempt which are referred to by Luke (1:1f.) were drawn up by teachers or were based on their work.² In some cases the teachers may have adapted certain of Jesus' sayings to paraenetic purposes or re-interpreted sayings or parables of Jesus to meet new situations in the life of the church.³ The pedagogical interest has long been recognized as operative in the selection and arrangement of the materials in the Gospel of Matthew.⁴ Thus Christian teachers have left their mark on the Gospel tradition as it has come down to us.

It should not be forgotten, of course, that the influence of the early teachers on the church's tradition is reflected not only in the Gospels as we now have them, but also in the epistles. A similar pattern of hortatory materials has been found embedded in such diverse books as I

¹ Vid. the examples cited by Dibelius, From Tradition to Gospel, p. 258f. Cf. also V. Taylor, The Formation of the Gospel Tradition, p. 93. Filson has suggested that some sayings of Jesus may owe their poetic form to teachers who recognized the effectiveness of this literary form for teaching, "The Christian Teacher in the First Century," op. cit., p. 327, n. 35.

² Cf. V. Taylor, The Formation of the Gospel Tradition, p. 132: "Q was an innovation prompted by the needs of catechetical instruction." Easton, Christ in the Gospels, pp. 51ff., has suggested that behind Q may have been something like a "teacher training institute" at Jerusalem. K. Stendahl, op. cit., pp. 32f., regards the ὑπὸ τοῦ διδασκάλου of Lk. 1:2 as a reference to teachers; cf. also E. F. Scott, The Nature of the Early Church, p. 121.

³ Cf. E. B. Redlich, Form Criticism, pp. 145ff.; Dodd, The Parables of Jesus, pp. 134ff.; Dibelius, From Tradition to Gospel, pp. 247ff.

⁴ F. C. Grant, The Growth of the Gospels, pp. 14f.; K. Stendahl, op. cit., esp. chaps. II, I-1, IV; F. V. Filson, "Broken Patterns in the Gospel of Matthew," JBL, LXXV (1956), pp. 227-31. Perhaps attention may also be called to B. H. Streeter's interesting observation that the longer conclusion of Mark (16:9-20) "reads as if it was originally a summary intended for catechetical purposes" which was later attached to the Gospel in Rome; The Four Gospels, pp. 350f.

Peter, certain of Paul's epistles, James, I Clement, the Didache and Her-
mas. Although there is individual variation and adaptation in the use
made of this material the similarities would seem to point to an underly-
ing pattern of ethical teaching of which the teachers in the church were
doubtless the mediators.¹

IV. TEACHING AS A ΧΑΡΙΣΜΑ

It is not difficult to understand why Paul considered the ability
to teach as a *χάρισμα*. Although not demonstrably pneumatic in char-
acter such as prophecy or glossolalia were, it was a Spirit-given ability
which was intimately related to the building up of the Christian communi-
ty.² The teacher's sphere of service was primarily within the church
and was based on the missionary work of the apostles and evangelists.³
The early church placed no premium on ignorance. Christianity was neith-
er a religion of magical ritual nor of mere thrilling emotionalism. It
was rooted in the historical ministry, death, and resurrection of Jesus
of Nazareth and it focused on quite definite moral and spiritual objec-
tives. At the base of the Christian life was a solid core of factual in-
formation which needed to be apprehended and applied. Christian charac-
ter could develop only as there was progressive understanding of the basis

¹ Cf. Dibelius, From Tradition to Gospel, pp. 239f.; Selwyn, I Peter,
pp. 363-466; Carrington, The Primitive Christian Catechism.

² When E. F. Scott, The Spirit in the New Testament, p. 117, says
that teaching must have been something more than mere instruction (i.e.
it also involved revelation) else it could not have been reckoned as a
spiritual gift, he obscures the fact that the essential characteristic
of *χάρισμα* is its ability to edify the church.

³ Cf. Fascher, "Jesus der Lehrer," op. cit., Col. 336: "Am Anfang
war die Predigt, nicht die Katechase!" The distinction, of course, can-
not be pressed too far because teaching was also part of the evangelis-
tic work of the apostles.

and the implications of the Christian faith. In the achievement of this goal teaching played a most important role.

Paul clearly associated the function of teaching with the development of mature Christian character. He envisions as the ultimate goal of his teaching activity the presentation of "every man mature in Christ" (Col. 1:28).¹ In Eph. 4:11f. the teacher is said to be one of the gifts of Christ to the church "for building up (ἐῖς οἰκοδομὴν) the body of Christ until we all attain to the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, to mature manhood, to the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ." Repeatedly in Paul's epistles there are references to the activity of teaching which obviously have in view the development of Christian character.² Surely this objective should be seen as prominently to the fore in Luke's description of the teaching of the apostles in Jerusalem in the early days of the church³ and in his subsequent references to the teaching ministry of Paul (and others) in such centers as Antioch,⁴ Corinth,⁵ Ephesus,⁶ and Rome.⁷

In this connection attention may be called to the significance of the term λόγος in I Cor. 12:8 in relation to both σοφία and γνῶσις,

¹ For Paul's use of τέλειος and its relation to teaching see Carrington, The Primitive Christian Catechism, pp. 56f.

² Rom. 6:17; I Cor. 4:17; Eph. 4:20ff.; Col. 2:6f.; I Thess. 4:2; II Thess. 2:15, 3:6.

³ Acts 2:42; 5:42.

⁴ Acts 11:26; 15:35; cf. 13:1.

⁵ Acts 18:11; cf. I Cor. 4:17.

⁶ Acts 20:20f., 31; cf. Eph. 4:20ff.

⁷ Acts 28:31.

the constituents of the gift of teaching. Although Paul regarded Christian "wisdom" and "knowledge" as divinely given gifts,¹ he never designated them as *χαρίσματα*. It is only "the utterance of wisdom" and "the utterance of knowledge" which are regarded as such. The reason for this, of course, is not difficult to discover in light of Paul's concept of a *χάρισμα*. Only that which serves to build up the Christian community may be called a *χάρισμα*. "Knowledge" or "wisdom" as a proudly held private possession may actually constitute a real threat to the spiritual well-being of the church.² Only in the sharing of these gifts in a Christian spirit with a due sense of responsibility to edify the entire community is this danger obviated and in a real sense do they assume charismatic character.³

If the purpose of teaching is to build up the church, then one of the criteria of the genuine exercise of the *χάρισμα* of teaching is precisely whether it serves to achieve this end. Teaching which does not edify the church along the lines laid down in the apostolic proclamation of the Gospel is not a manifestation of the Spirit but is false teaching.⁴ The author of the Didache clearly stated the principle by which the function of teaching was to be judged in the church when he laid it down regarding the travelling teacher who might visit the Christian community: ". . . If his teaching be for the increase of righteousness and knowledge of the Lord, receive him as the Lord" (11:2).

¹ I Cor. 2:6-16; Col. 1:9; Eph. 1:16-23; 3:14-19.

² Cf. I Cor. 8:1-13; 10:23ff.; Rom. 14.

³ Lauterburg, *op. cit.*, pp. 13f.; Schlatter, *Paulus*, p. 339. This point is missed by many commentators on I Cor. 12:8 including Calvin, *CC*, *ad. loco.*

⁴ Cf. Acts 20:29f.; I Tim. 6:3f.

CHAPTER V

THE XAPISMA OF GLOSSOLALIA

Included among the gifts related to speech is the *χάρισμα* of glossolalia. It is mentioned in only two of the four Pauline lists of gifts. Interestingly enough, these are the two found in I Cor. 12.¹ Although the least significant of the gifts of speech, it possessed, at least for part of the early church, an unusual fascination. It is probably no exaggeration to say also that when the subject of spiritual gifts is broached today, the popular Christian mind tends to think first and primarily of glossolalia.

I. THE NATURE OF GLOSSOLALIA

It is common knowledge that difficult problems beset any attempt to gain a consistent understanding of glossolalia from the data provided by the New Testament. In particular, the Pentecostal account seems to be quite at variance from the description found in I Cor. 12-14. The proper place to begin inquiry regarding the essential nature of glossolalia is with the latter passage rather than the former. Paul's account is not only the earlier but is written by one who was intimately acquainted with the phenomenon described. For this reason these materials will be examined first and then some attempt will be made to understand the Lukan account against the background of this discussion.

A. In the Corinthian Church

From the reference to glossolalia in I Cor. 12-14, it is evident

¹ Vv. 10, 28.

that it was a well-known phenomenon in the life of the Corinthian church. Thus when Paul came to deal with it in his discussion of the gifts, there was no need to describe its essential character which was already understood by his readers. He was concerned only to deal with certain misunderstandings regarding its value and proper use. Paul's treatment of glossolalia, although adequate for the historical situation addressed, leaves the modern Biblical student to infer the nature of the gift from the materials at hand. The fullest discussion occurs in I Cor. 14 where Paul is intent on showing the superiority of prophecy over glossolalia. Happily, in working out this comparison between these two gifts, a great deal of light is thrown on the nature of glossolalia.

1. General Characteristics

Glossolalia in the Corinthian church was unintelligible utterance.

While occasionally some rational utterances may have been included,¹ glossolalia basically consisted of the emission of certain unintelligible sounds in a state of ecstasy. Unfortunately, no examples of this sort of utterance in the early church have been preserved for us in the New Testament. James Moffatt has offered a graphic description of what may have taken place in such an experience: "Broken murmurs, incoherent chants, low mutterings, staccato sobs, screams and sighs, dropped from the speaker's lips in hurried, huddled utterances."² G. B. Caird would reconstruct the phenomenon in more restrained terms. He is of the opinion that "glossolalia gave the normal impression of articulate utterance and

¹ Examples of such rational fragments in glossolalia probably are to be seen in I Cor. 12:3; Rom. 8:15; Gal. 4:6.

² I Cor., BNTC, p. 208.

not of hysterical raving."¹ In either case, however, it was unintelligible. This feature is stressed repeatedly in I Cor. 14 as the most serious weakness attending the public exercise of the gift. Although the utterance was unintelligible to the hearer, the experience was not wholly meaningless to the glossolalist himself. Indeed, Paul allows that "he who speaks in a tongue edifies himself" (I Cor. 14:4). Furthermore, the glossolalist was convinced that such utterances were understood by God. They were inspired by the Spirit and, although "too deep for words," they were nevertheless intelligible to Him who "knows what is the mind of the Spirit" (Rom. 8:27f.).² This raises the problem of the relation of the glossolalist's mind to the utterance itself.

In glossolalia the spirit is said to be active but the "mind is unfruitful" (I Cor. 14:14).³ This is frequently taken to mean that the mind in such an exercise is unproductive in advancing the spiritual welfare of the group.⁴ In this passage, however, the thought of social profit is not especially emphasized.⁵ It appears that Paul is speaking of an experience in which the mind is not in active control of the utterances. A. L. Humphries paraphrases Paul's thought as follows: "... My intel-

¹ Op. cit., p. 59. It should be observed also that nothing is said about the accompaniment of unusual physical features such as convulsive jerks and wild gesturing which often characterized glossolalia in later history; cf. Moffatt, I Cor., MNTC, p. 209.

² This passage probably reflects Paul's own experience of glossolalia in prayer; cf. Macdonald, op. cit., p. 43.

³ ὁ νοῦς μου ἄκαρπός ἐστι

⁴ So Lietzmann, HNT, ad. loco.; Robertson and Plummer, ICC, ad. loco.; Parry, CGT, ad. loco.

⁵ Cf. Weiss, MK, pp. 328f.

ligence takes no conscious part in the exercise, contributes nothing to it."¹ Nowhere, however, does Paul suggest that the person is unconscious or that the mind has migrated from the body.² Büchsel insists that Paul regarded the experience as possessing rational meaning.³ The glossolalist utters mysteries (I Cor. 14:2) in that what he says is unintelligible to others. But his utterances are not senseless. He edifies himself and when his utterances are interpreted, they may also edify others. The person is in conscious communion with God but the experience does not find formulation and expression through the medium of conventional language.

Glossolalia was an utterance of worship. Paul clearly indicates that "one who speaks in a tongue speaks not to men but to God" (I Cor. 14:2). The purpose of glossolalia is not to admonish fellow-Christians but to express the deep feelings of the soul in worship, feelings which ordinary human speech cannot adequately express.⁴ It is the language of the soul in rapt communion pouring out its adoration, wonder, and praise to God. The devotional character of glossolalia is attested further by the terminology associated with it in I Cor. 14:14-17. Such terms as "pray," "sing," "bless," and "give thanks" belong to the vocabulary of worship. Büchsel regards glossolalia as a kind of prayer, not petitionary prayer but rather one of adoration, a pure emotional effusion of prayer utterances in which only sounds and not real words are produced. He

¹ Op. cit., p. 174, n. 3.

² This is a Greek conception of inspiration and is found also in Philo; cf. De Migr. Abrah., 34f.; Quis Rer. Div., 69f.; De Spec. Leg., IV, 49.

³ Op. cit., pp. 321f.

⁴ Cf. Rom. 8:26.

compares it to abstract painting in which communication is less a matter of lines and bodily form than color.¹ The interpretation of glossolalia as devotional utterance finds support also in the book of Acts. When on the day of Pentecost the inspired disciples were heard uttering "the mighty works of God" they were praising God (Acts 2:11). Similarly, in Acts 10:46 those who spoke in tongues are described as "extolling God." Finally, it may be observed that Paul appears to have restricted his own exercise of glossolalia to private devotional experiences (I Cor. 14:18f.).

Now it was the devotional character of glossolalia that distinguished the Christian phenomenon from the ecstatic utterances associated with Greek religious cults. In the latter, ecstatic utterances were regarded as a medium through which a god or goddess communicated information to men in response to specific requests. The Christian glossolalist, on the contrary, was not an organ of divine revelation.² Such revelation came through Christ, His apostles and prophets and was uttered in a rational and intelligible manner. It should be observed that the glossolalist is said to utter mysteries (I Cor. 14:2). But it is not likely that Paul was here using *μυστήρια* in the same technical sense in which he frequently employed the term. Elsewhere, the mysteries which the apostles and prophets proclaimed were "open secrets" in the Christian community.³

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 321; cf. Lauterburg, *op. cit.*, p. 24: "Die Äusserungen glossolalischer Art fallen als ein Reden mit Gott unter die Kategorie des Gebetes."

² H. A. Guy, *New Testament Doctrine of the Last Things*, p. 101, suggests that glossolalia when interpreted may have had as its content eschatological or apocalyptic prediction. He observes, however, that no such cases can be cited in the New Testament. I Cor. 14:6 may be construed to mean that tongues may, when interpreted, bring a revelation, a matter of knowledge, a prophecy or a teaching to the church (so Farry, *CGT*, ad. loco.). But more likely, these items are set in contrast to tongues; cf. Robertson and Plummer, *ICC*, ad. loco.

³ E.g. Rom. 11:25; I Cor. 15:51; Eph. 3:3-6; etc.

Those referred to here, except when interpreted, remained impenetrable mysteries.¹ It would appear that Paul did not regard the "mysteries" uttered in glossolalia as in any sense of the same kind nor of equal importance with those spoken by the prophets and apostles in the church. Likely Paul means no more than that these utterances were not understood by the hearers and thus remain mysterious.

Glossolalia was diversified utterance. In the two catalogues of spiritual gifts where glossolalia is included, it is referred to by the phrase γένη γλωσσῶν (I Cor. 12:10, 28). This phrase suggests the diversity of the phenomenon as it existed in the Corinthian church. This diversity, however, should not be understood merely as meaning only that God bestows one kind of glossolalia to one person and another to someone else in the church. On the contrary, the diversity in view exists within the experience of the individual who is endowed with the gift.² It is not altogether clear of what this diversity consisted. Paul may have in mind one or more of the following understandings: (1) The phrase may designate the various kinds of utterances such as prayer, praise, or thanksgiving which at various times may comprise glossolalia.³ (2) The

¹ Cf. Weiss, MK, p. 322. Wendland, NTD, VII, p. 109, observes that when Paul proclaimed divine mysterious wisdom in Corinth (I Cor. 2:7) he spoke as an apostle and prophet (i.e. intelligibly) and not as a glossolalist. Vid. also Moffatt, I Cor., MNTC, p. 206.

² I Cor. 12:12; ἐτέρῳ γένη γλωσσῶν; cf. Schlatter, Paulus, p. 343. It may also be noted that Paul uses the plural, λαλεῖν γλωσσῶν in reference to the individual (I Cor. 14:5, 6, 18). J. Weiss, MK, p. 335, regards the singular as designating a particular expression while the plural has the general genus of the utterance in view.

³ Cf. I Cor. 14:14-16; cf. Weizsäcker, op. cit., II, p. 273. In form these may range from an occasional articulate expression (e.g. I Cor. 12:3) to sighs which cannot find expression in words (e.g. Rom. 8:26).

reference may be to the impression of differentiated phenomena which is made upon the hearer by the varied intonations and forms of sound which accompanied the alterations of mood on the part of the glossolalist.¹

(3) Paul may further have in mind the variety of angelic languages, or the languages of men and of angels (I Cor. 13:1), which the variety of utterances would have suggested to those who may have regarded glossolalia as speech in some other language. Thus whatever the precise reference of γένη γλωσσῶν may be, it may be assumed that versatility marked the expression of glossolalia.² Basically, however, the phenomenon belonged to the category of fragmentary, incoherent, unintelligible, ecstatic utterances.

2. Terminology and the Nature of Glossolalia

It is generally recognized that the phrase λαλεῖν ἐν γλώσσαις in its variant forms is a terminus technicus for the particular type of utterance in the Corinthian church which has been described above. What is the origin of this terminology and what further light does it throw on the understanding of the nature of the phenomenon?

In Greek literature γλῶσσα was employed chiefly in the following three ways: (1) For the tongue as a physical organ of the body. (2) To designate a language or dialect. (3) With reference to a strange, mysterious sort of expression requiring exposition or interpretation.³ It

¹ E. F. Scott, The Spirit in the New Testament, p. 100. He also suggests that the various linguistic backgrounds of the speakers would be reflected in the sounds produced. This would account for differences between glossolalists but hardly those within the experience of same person.

² For an excellent analysis of the diverse character of modern glossolalia vid. H. Rust, Das Zungenreden, pp. 25-43.

³ Full discussion of these various uses of γλῶσσα with illustrative examples may be found in TWNT, I, pp. 719f. and in the standard Greek lexicons.

is to be expected that some connection existed between the use of $\gamma\lambda\omega\sigma\sigma\alpha$ as a technical expression in the Corinthian community and the contemporary Greek usage.

P. Schmiedel proposed that $\gamma\lambda\omega\sigma\sigma\alpha$ was engaged to designate this particular type of utterance because of the dominant role which the physical organ itself appeared to play in producing it. Glossolalia is speech in which the tongue seemed to function independently of the $\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, presumably having been set in motion by the Holy Spirit.¹ Although perhaps to the observer such meaningless utterances might give the impression that the tongue of the glossolalist had run off with him, Paul's discussion would not seem to suggest that he thought of it as speech from which the human consciousness was entirely excluded or that the tongue was functioning merely as the organ of the divine Spirit.² This theory also would not easily explain the phrase $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\ \gamma\lambda\omega\sigma\sigma\omega\upsilon\upsilon$, nor the use of the plural, $\gamma\lambda\omega\sigma\sigma\alpha\iota$, in relation to the individual glossolalist (cf. I Cor. 14:5).³

F. Bleek,⁴ followed by G. Heinrici,⁵ suggested that $\gamma\lambda\omega\sigma\sigma\alpha$ as a terminus technicus was derived from its use as a designation for archaic, highly poetic, mysterious utterances requiring interpretation or exposition in order to be understood. As already noted, glossolalia in the Corinthian church was unintelligible speech. Paul repeatedly draws attention to this feature as the most serious weakness in its public ex-

¹ EB, IV, cols. 4769f.; cf. I-II Cor., MK (E.T., 1884), p. 287.

² Supra pp. 230f.

³ Cf. TWNT, I, p. 725.

⁴ "Über die Gabe des $\gamma\lambda\omega\sigma\sigma\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \lambda\alpha\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ in der ersten christlichen Kirche," StKr, II (1829), pp. 3-79.

⁵ Das erste Sendschreiben des apostel Paulus an die Korinthier (1880), pp. 381ff.

ercise. The question may be raised, however, whether the notion of strange, archaic, fragmentary utterances exhausts the conception which either the Corinthians or Paul held of glossolalia. Was it regarded as a language of some sort albeit beyond the normal command of the speaker and unintelligible to those who heard?

From the time of the Church Fathers there have been those who have understood $\gamma\lambda\omega\sigma\sigma\alpha\iota$ in the sense of foreign human languages.¹ Paul's use of Isa. 28:11f. in connection with his discussion of glossolalia in I Cor. 14:21ff. might suggest that he thought of it as a foreign language. The reference historically is to the foreign tongue of the Assyrians by which God would speak to Israel in judgment. This quotation, however, is employed for illustrative purposes and the specific application that Paul makes of it turns on the function of the unintelligible speech rather than its nature. Similarly, Paul's reference to various human languages in I Cor. 14:10f. must be understood as illustrative rather than as offering a definition of glossolalia. Indeed, it may be questioned whether Paul would use foreign languages as an analogy to illustrate glossolalia if he regarded the latter as itself primarily speech of this sort.²

Many modern scholars would regard Paul's use of $\gamma\lambda\omega\sigma\sigma\alpha$ as a technical expression for some special language, indeed, the language of the Spirit. It is a wonderful speech such as the angels in heaven use in intimate intercourse with God (I Cor. 13:1) and such as is accessible to those who in ecstatic rapture are carried into heaven (II Cor. 12:2ff.;

¹ So Origen (ad Rom. 1.13) and most of the Fathers. Also Calvin, CC, on I Cor. 12:10, 14:2, and many old German commentators; cf. I-II Cor., MK (E. T., 1884), p. 283.

² Weiss, MK, on I Cor. 14:10f.; Wendland, NTD, VII, p. 119.

cf. I Cor. 14:2, 13ff.; Acts 2:11, 10:46).¹ Analogous conceptions may be pointed to both in Hellenistic and in Jewish apocalyptic literature. In the magical papyri the meaningless series of names and syllables by which the gods and spirits were invoked were regarded as originating from the supernatural language spoken by these creatures, each class having its own special *φωνή* or *διάλεκτος*.² In the Testament of Job (48-50) there is also a reference to human beings speaking angelic language. Job before his death gave to his daughters a magical girdle by which they received another heart and were enabled to speak the language of angels.³ Attention may also be called to I Enoch 40 where the four archangels each in his own way utters praise before the Lord of glory.⁴

In support of this view, the following considerations may be urged: (1) It would be consonant with Paul's view of the Spirit as a divine gift from heaven inspiring glossolalia.⁵ (2) It corresponds with Paul's conception of glossolalia as utterances of worship addressed to God rather than communications addressed to men. (3) It may find some

¹ This is the view among others of Behm, *TWNT*, I, pp. 725f.; Weiss, *I Cor.*, *MK*, pp. 335-9; Wendland, *NTD*, VII, p. 119; E. Mosiman, *Das Zungenreden*, pp. 130ff.

² For examples of such *voces mysticae* vid. Preis., *Zaub.*, XIII (Leiden), pp. 588ff.; P. Lond. I, pp. 255ff.; for the associated conception vid. Preis., *Zaub.*, XIII (Leiden), pp. 139ff.; cf. also Clem. Alex., *Strom.* I, p. 143, 1; *Corp. Herm.* I, 26a; R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, p. 55.

³ James, *Apocrypha Anecdota* II (Texts and Studies V, 1897), pp. 135f. Although R. Pfeiffer, *History of New Testament Times*, pp. 70f., defends a first century B.C. date for the Testament of Job, it is precarious to take it as a source for the Pauline idea in view of possible Christian influence; cf. Büchsel, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

⁴ Volz, *op. cit.*, p. 137, suggests that the root meaning of *λαλεῖν ἐν γλώσσαις* is to be found in the apocalyptic concept that each order of angels has its own special voice.

⁵ Cf. Wendland, *NTD*, VII, p. 119.

support in Paul's reference to glossolalia in I Cor. 13:1 as speech "in the tongues of men and of angels."¹

It may be objected that to regard glossolalia as a speaking in angelic tongues leaves Paul's reference to their ultimate cessation without an adequate explanation.² It may be pointed out, however, that the contrast envisioned in I Cor. 13:8-12 is that between the imperfect present and the perfect eschatological experience. The nature of the change described as "pass away" is one in which the valid but imperfect expressions of the Christian life today will be swallowed up in the perfections of the eschaton. When that day arrives, the present fragmentary and imperfect break-through of the language of the supernatural world will give way to the full experience of heavenly intercourse.³

3. The Psychology of Glossolalia.

No explicit statements relative to the psychology of glossolalia are to be found in Paul's discussion of the phenomenon. This is indeed understandable since Paul thought in religious rather than psychological

¹ Caird, op. cit., p. 59, following J. Weiss, MK, p. 338, sees in the reference to "the tongues of men" in this passage an indication of a certain ambiguity in Paul's thought regarding glossolalia. The comprehensive phrase "the tongues of men and of angels," suggests that Paul may also have included foreign languages under the concept of glossolalia leaving it open in any given case whether the utterance was angelic or human.

² I Cor. 13:8. So Humphries, op. cit., p. 174.

³ Cf. Cullmann, "The Proleptic Deliverance of the Body according to the New Testament," The Early Church, pp. 170f. He regards glossolalia as "an attempt of the Spirit to break through the limits set to human speech by the body, and to find a more direct kind of utterance, the language of angels."

categories.¹ This is not to say, however, that no data is provided by the apostle which may contribute toward some understanding of the psychology involved. Furthermore, the occurrence of similar phenomena in subsequent religious history and modern studies in the psychology of religious experience provide help in attempting to understand glossolalia in the early church. The limitations of both space and purpose prevent any full discussion of the psychology of glossolalia. Only a brief summary statement is necessary.

Psychology as such cannot speak to the ultimate cause of glossolalia; it can only describe the psychological behaviour involved in the experience. From a psychological point of view glossolalia represents a disintegration of conscious speech control to the point where "the verbo-motive centers of the subject are obedient to subconscious impulses."² In general, whenever the subconscious assumes dominant control, a type of phenomenon results which may be described as automation. These may be of a sensory type such as visions, auditions or other hallucinations. Or they may be of a motor type in which the subject performs some action. It is to this latter class that glossolalia belongs.

The disintegration of the normal conscious control of the speech mechanism may occur under the stress of profound emotional excitement. Thus glossolalia seems to have consisted of the outpouring of unintelli-

¹ Cf. G. Schrenk, "Geist und Enthusiasmus," *op. cit.*, p. 85, who points out that Paul is not interested in the psychological experience of the glossolalist but only what he contributes to the community.

² G. B. Cutten, *Speaking with Tongues*, p. 160; the entire chapter (157-184) should be consulted. Excellent discussions of the psychology of glossolalia may be found in K. Lake, *The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, pp. 241-52; E. Mosiman, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-124; H. Rust, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-25.

gible sounds under the influence of uncontrollable feeling.¹ Deeply stirred by great aspirations, intense longings, inspiring intuitions which seek for expression and for which no adequate language can be found, the glossolalist suddenly finds relief in a burst of ecstatic utterance. "We can well understand," writes E. F. Scott, "how in that initial period of surging religious life, when the mighty truths of Christianity were breaking on man's minds for the first time, a manifestation of this kind was inevitable."²

It may be noted that all of the occurrences of glossolalia in the book of Acts are associated with initial experiences of the Spirit. In the Corinthian church, however, glossolalia seems to have been part of the continuing life of the Christian assembly. It is somewhat difficult to understand how this type of experience could be frequently repeated over an extended period of time without its becoming artificial. Since it was highly prized and eagerly sought by the Corinthians, perhaps, at least on the part of some, it may also have been induced by various auto-

¹ Robertson and Plummer, ICC, on I Cor. 12:10 describe glossolalia as "a blissful outlet of blissful emotions." It is the product of strong religious feeling which seeks not only to find relief but also to explain itself but is unable to do so in rational coherent speech; cf. E. F. Scott, The Spirit in the New Testament, pp. 101f. The experience would seem to be much more spontaneous than suggested by J. B. Pratt, The Religious Consciousness, p. 184: ". . . When one is sure from the intensity of one's feelings that the Holy Ghost is within one, it comes into one's head to express one's emotions by speaking in an unknown tongue."

² The Beginnings of the Church, pp. 73f. Scott compares the glossolalist to "a child who has not yet acquired words for the struggling thoughts and emotions which overmaster him." Such phenomena, however, was by no means limited to the early church; cf. Lake, Earlier Epistles of St. Paul, p. 245: "Probably research would show that no revival has been without something like glossolalia." Neither is the experience limited to the Christian church; even non-religious cases are known. Cf. Cutten, Speaking with Tongues, pp. 136-156; F. M. Davenport, Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals, pp. 236f.

suggestive techniques.¹ It has been suggested that the influence of the group must not be forgotten if the experience of glossolalia, whether at Pentecost or in Corinth, is to be understood.² Glossolalia in the New Testament church, however, is not to be explained merely on the basis of the psychological principle of the herd instinct. The phenomenon did not occur only in large assemblies. Paul apparently exercised the gift only in private.³ In such cases probably there was such a kindling of the spirit through a fresh apprehension of some great spiritual truth or through the vividness of the experience of fellowship with Christ that the normal speech mechanism could no longer accommodate the emotions which sought expression.

B. At Pentecost

The Lukan account of the Pentecostal glossolalia is notoriously difficult. "There is no historical statement in the New Testament," declared H. B. Swete, "which is more difficult to interpret than St. Luke's account of the Pentecostal gift of tongues."⁴ If this assertion appears to be somewhat of an exaggeration, a review of the history of interpretation of Acts 2:1-13 will indicate that it is not without some measure of truth. Into all the problems posed by this passage, it is not necessary to go. The point of inquiry is the nature of the glossolalia described

¹ Cf. Moffatt, I Cor., MNTC, p. 210. But the continuing, powerful, emotional stimulus of such experiences as the celebration of the Eucharist should not be overlooked.

² M. Barnett, op. cit., pp. 98f.; cf. Hopwood, op. cit., p. 162; Rust, op. cit., pp. 19ff.

³ I Cor. 14:18f.; cf. Wm. Glynne, "Psychology and Glossolalia--The Book of Acts," CCR, CVI (1928), pp. 281-300.

⁴ The Holy Spirit in the New Testament, p. 72.

by Luke.

The considerations which constitute the problem are of two kinds: First, there is the matter of attempting to harmonize the Pentecostal account with other New Testament descriptions of glossolalia. The chief impression derived from the fullest account of glossolalia in the New Testament (I Cor. 14) is its unintelligible character. Elsewhere in Acts where glossolalia is mentioned, although the references lack detail, there is no indication that the phenomenon differs from that described in the Corinthian epistle.¹ But in the Pentecostal account it is precisely the intelligibility of glossolalia which is stressed. Indeed, the inspired disciples are represented as speaking in actual foreign languages which were understood by the various nationalities present on the occasion.² Thus the prima facie impression created by the narrative is that of a unique linguistic miracle unparalleled elsewhere in the New Testament.

Second, there are difficulties within the Acts' account itself. Attention may be called in particular to three of these. (1) Although in the narrative stress is laid upon the fact that the various national groups heard the disciples speaking in their native languages, there is not the slightest suggestion in Peter's sermon which follows that such was the case. In fact, what is here emphasized is that this was the revival of prophecy in fulfillment of Joel's promise.³ Now the ability to

¹ Acts 10:46; 19:6.

² Acts 2:6, 8; cf. vv. 4, 11.

³ This emphasis is especially strong if the well-attested reading, *καὶ προφητεύουσιν* (v. 18), be accepted as genuine. On this problem see the discussion by Ropes, *BC*, III, pp. 16f. But even if this reading is rejected the present point is not affected.

speaking in a foreign language is never associated with prophecy in the Old Testament and it appears strange that such an association should be made here.¹ (2) There appears to have been no real need for the gift of speaking in foreign languages on this occasion. It has often been pointed out that Greek or Aramaic would have been understood by all the people represented as having heard the disciples speak (Acts 2:9-11). The author does not suggest that Peter spoke in a foreign language or languages when he later addressed the assembled multitude. Presumably, speaking Greek or Aramaic, he was understood by all his hearers. Thus whatever its purpose, the ability to speak in foreign languages does not seem to have met a practical need.² (3) There are hints in the narrative that the experience was of an ecstatic character. Notable is the response of a segment of the multitude who mocked. They regarded the disciples as "filled with new wine" (Acts 2:13). Apparently to some at least, the speech of the disciples on this occasion resembled more the irrational utterance of intoxicated men than the intelligent command of certain foreign languages. The visual and auditory accompaniments of the glossolalia also suggest that the experience was of an ecstatic order (Acts 2:2f.). The close association of glossolalia with prophecy which is made by Peter's interpretation of the former by the latter (Acts 2:16-18) may suggest some similarity between this experience and

¹ Vid. M. Barnett, op. cit., pp. 82f.

² Cf. E. F. Scott, The Beginnings of the Church, p. 60, who thinks that such a miracle could only be regarded as "an exhibition miracle, serving no useful end."

ecstatic prophecy in ancient Israel.¹

In the light of these observations it is clear that to regard the Pentecostal glossolalia as a speaking in actual foreign languages is not without its difficulties. Most scholars are of the opinion that what is described in Acts 2 is essentially akin to that found elsewhere in Acts and in I Cor., namely, ecstatic, unintelligible utterance. This then, poses the problem of attempting to account for Luke's unusual representation of glossolalia in Acts 2:1-13. A great variety of explanations have been proposed.

(1) Some scholars have maintained that Luke's account has been misunderstood. He has not described a miracle of speech but of hearing.

H. B. Swete has presented this view clearly. He thinks

that the historian of the Acts does not affirm that the speakers spoke in the tongues of the several nationalities that made up the crowd, but only that the hearers so interpreted their utterances. It is a subjective effect which is described and not an objective fact.²

In defense of this view, it should not be forgotten that Paul does speak of the gift of interpretation whereby certain individuals were able to understand glossolalia. It is possible, therefore, that at Pentecost the operation of this gift should be seen on a wider scale than appears or-

¹ Prophecy and tongues are closely related also in Acts 19:6, although clearly distinguished by Paul (I Cor. 14). Doubtless, there was a great deal of similarity between the ecstatic utterances of the Hebrew nebi'im and the New Testament glossolalist. Büchsel, op. cit., p. 248, regards glossolalia as a kind of deteriorated prophecy. For the kinship psychologically between prophecy and glossolalia see Cutten, Speaking with Tongues, pp. 2f.

² Op. cit., p. 381; cf. K. L. Schmidt, Die Pfingsterzählung, p. 21: "Es handelt sich also um ein Horwunder allein, dass gar nicht an die Redenweise der Jünger gebunden ist."

dinarily to have been the case. If this be true, there is no real contradiction between the Pauline and the Lukan accounts. Some support for this view may be found in the pronounced emphasis in Luke's account upon hearing in their own tongues rather than upon speaking in other tongues.¹ Attractive as this suggestion is, it is doubtful whether it fully does justice to the evident intent of the narrative.²

(2) R. C. P. Taylor has sought to solve the problem by suggesting a time lapse between Acts 2:4 and v. 6.³ He has raised the question whether it is necessary or even legitimate to prolong the speaking in tongues into the second portion of the narrative. He would regard the utterances referred to in v. 4 as genuinely ecstatic but those referred to in the following paragraph (vv. 6ff.), which occurred somewhat later after the ecstatic fervor had subsided, were presumably in Greek. Assuming that Greek in its various dialects was known to the entire multitude, what occurred on this occasion was a transcendence, or at least partially so, of the dialectical barrier under the inspiration of the Spirit. Such a transcendence is understandable if we assume that the utterances of the disciples were largely quotations from the Old Testament Scriptures where the problem of understanding due to differences of dialect would be greatly lessened.

¹ Passages emphasizing "hearing" are Acts 2:6, 8, 11. In Acts 2:4, Luke asserts that the disciples spoke *ἑτέροις γλώσσαις* which in itself does not require us to understand foreign languages. Cf. Haenchen, *BK*, p. 143, who observes that Luke in as far as was possible allows the participants to describe their own experience. To them it appeared as though the disciples spoke in other tongues.

² Cf. Beyer, *TWNT*, II, p. 700; Büchsel, *op. cit.*, pp. 243f.

³ "Tongues at Pentecost," *ET*, XL (1929), pp. 300-303.

(3) H. Weinell has proposed a solution based upon a later and adverse attitude on the part of the church toward glossolalia.¹ In post-apostolic times, due to the influence of Paul and the development of church organization, glossolalia which was once so highly esteemed in the church at Corinth fell into disrepute and finally disappeared. When the author of Acts wrote, he felt constrained to recast the account of the Pentecostal episode at his disposal from one describing truly ecstatic glossolalia into one representing speech in foreign languages.

(4) F. Spitta representing an approach which is now generally abandoned by modern scholars regarded Acts 2:1-13 as the product of a conflation of two sources, one of which reported glossolalia of an ecstatic type, the other enshrined a tradition of speech in foreign languages.²

(5) In recent literature it is frequently suggested that Luke wrote with certain Old Testament and Jewish parallels in mind.³ At least four such parallels have been proposed. (a) Luke may have intended to suggest a reversal of the story of the confusion of human language at the tower of Babel.⁴ (b) Another possible parallel is the Jewish legend,

¹ Op. cit., pp. 74f.

² Die Apostelgeschichte, ihre Quellen und deren geschichtlicher Wert, pp. 51ff. Beyer, NTD, V, p. 15, also adopts a two-tradition hypothesis. For criticism of this approach see Haenchen, ME, p. 139; Lohse, TWNT, VI, p. 51.

³ Full discussions may be found by Lake, BC, V, pp. 114ff.; Haenchen, ME, pp. 139f.; Lohse, TWNT, VI, pp. 47ff.; Beyer, NTD, V, pp. 16ff.; Barnett, op. cit., pp. 86ff.

⁴ Gen. 11:1-9; cf. Philo, De Confus. Ling. 6-9; Josephus, Antiq. I. 1.4. It may be noted that Josephus draws attention to the hope of one common language for the redeemed at "the End." Cf. also Test. Jud. 25,3. The view that Luke has this parallel in mind is argued by J. G. Davis, "Pentecost and Glossolalia," JTS, N.S., (1952), pp. 228-31; cf. also G. Delling, op. cit., p. 44. It should be observed, however, that Luke does not give the impression of only one language being spoken but many.

known to us from Philo, concerning the delivery of the Law on Sinai.

According to this legend, the flame of fire that descended from heaven upon the mount was transformed into a language known to all the hearers.¹

(c) More striking are the parallels between Luke's account and the rabbinic elaborations of the giving of the Law on Mt. Sinai. According to the rabbis, the voice of God on that occasion was divided into seventy voices representing the seventy languages of mankind. None of these rabbinical materials, however, can be proved to be as early as Acts.²

(d) Finally, Luke may have had in mind Isaiah 28:11f. which is quoted by Paul in connection with glossolalia in Corinth (I Cor. 14:21). Especially is this parallel interesting if the text of Acts 2:5 is accepted which omits Ἰουδαῖοι and Luke is then regarded as giving the inauguration of the Gentile Christian mission.³ Underlying each of these four suggestions is the belief that the Pentecostal glossolalia was essentially ecstatic utterance. Luke on the basis of one or more of these parallels constructed the narrative as it now occurs with a view to furthering the purpose he had in mind in writing Acts. Unfortunately, there are no demonstrable clues in the narrative itself or its context to provide certainty that Luke wrote with any of these parallels consciously in mind.

(6) Weiss has suggested that Luke's interpretation of the Pentecostal phenomenon of glossolalia roots in a certain ambiguity which is found

¹ De. Decal., 32-49.

² They are conveniently assembled by Str.-B., II, pp. 604f.; cf. Lake, BC, V, p. 116; TWNT, VI, pp. 47ff.

³ Lake, BC, V, p. 115. On the textual problem of Acts 2:5 vid. ibid., pp. 113f. Lake's suggestion is doubtful, however, even if Ἰουδαῖοι is omitted. Cf. F. F. Bruce, NINTC, pp. 60f.; Haenchen, MK, p. 142.

in Paul's conception in I Cor. 12-14.¹ According to Weiss, Paul basically conceived of glossolalia as a type of heavenly language or languages. However, I Cor. 13:1 would seem to indicate that the concept of *γένη γλώσσων* is very comprehensive and that all sorts of *γλῶσσαι* both human and angelic may be given to man. Luke in line with his mission interest in Acts merely develops the suggestion that the languages spoken in the Pentecostal glossolalia were foreign human languages. G. B. Caird inclines to a similar explanation.² He protests against the unjust criticism that has frequently been directed against Luke's account because of a failure to recognize that Luke was not wilfully transforming a case of ecstatic glossolalia into a linguistic miracle but was simply utilizing an accepted current explanation. If Luke has heightened the effect of the story in any way, it is only in the suggestion that each of the inspired disciples spoke a different language so that among the assembled crowd many heard the native tongue of their respective country.

Perhaps at this point this brief survey of proposed solutions to account for Luke's description of the Pentecostal glossolalia may be broken off. It would seem that any proper understanding of the narrative must begin not with inquiry into sources but rather with Luke's intention as made explicit in the larger purpose of the Acts. Luke's purpose is to detail the spread of the Gospel and the expansion of the church from Jerusalem to Rome.³ Now the narrative of Acts 2:1-13 is intimately related to this controlling purpose of the book. It describes the fulfillment of

¹ I Cor., *MK*, p. 338.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 59f.; cf. also E. F. Scott, *The Spirit in the New Testament*, pp. 97f.

³ Acts 1:8; cf. Haenchen, *MK*, p. 115, n. 3: "Das ist der Aufriss der Apg."

Acts 1:8a just as the remainder of the book is a fulfillment of v. 8b. The actual mission does not begin until Peter's sermon (Acts 2:14ff.) but just as Acts 2:1-13 is the realization of the promise of the Spirit's coming, so it is also the key to the understanding of all that follows in the book. The account in Acts 2:1-13 serves three purposes: (1) It emphasizes the supernatural origin of the Spirit that came upon the church and resulted in the beginning of her mission.¹ The imagery of vv. 1-4 is designed to highlight the fact that the Spirit comes as a divine endowment. There is the sound "from heaven" which breaks upon them "suddenly." It is likened to "the rush of a mighty wind" suggesting great power. The "tongues as of fire" probably also are to be understood as symbolizing the divine element in the experience.² Finally, the speech which results is "in other tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance."³ (2) The multitude represented as drawn from the various countries listed in Acts 2:1-11 serves to provide a world-wide background for the inauguration of the church's mission in the preaching of Peter. Although Luke probably does not think of this group as including other than Jews and proselytes,⁴ he doubtless does think of them as representing the countries into which the gospel ultimately would be carried. Thus, in a sense, this list represents "a proleptic summing up of their future

¹ Cf. Haenchen, *ibid.*, pp. 141f.

² Cf. Enoch 14:8-15; 71:5; and Haenchen, *MK*, p. 135, n. 1. Fire as a symbol of the presence and power of Deity is not uncommon in Old Testament and Jewish thought. For a collection of rabbinic references to the Spirit as light or fire *vid.* J. Abelson, *op. cit.*, pp. 212f.

³ Ἀποφθέγγομαι suggests inspired speech; cf. *TWNT*, I, p. 448.

⁴ Even if Ἰουδαῖοι (v. 5) be omitted, other evidence would favor restricting the reference to Jews and proselytes; cf. F. F. Bruce, *NINTC*, pp. 60f.; Haenchen, *MK*, p. 142.

missionary task."¹ (3) The unusual character of the episode described in Acts 2:1-11 gives rise to the question on the lips of the astonished multitude, "What does this mean?" This provides a fitting introduction to Peter's sermon in which an explanation is given. Thus the interest of the reader is aroused and he is psychologically prepared for the discourse which follows. From a theological and literary point of view, the narrative of Acts 2:1-13 is integrally related both to the purpose of Luke and its contextual setting.

Brief attention must now be given to the historical value of the account. There can be no doubt that the narrative enshrines the memory of "a deeply moving psychological experience . . . of the nature which to that and many later generations was known as 'inspiration.'"² It is not at all impossible that this experience actually occurred at the time of the first Pentecost feast following the death of Christ.³ Although a certain idealizing tendency on the part of Luke in representing the assembled multitude as hearing the inspired disciples speak in the languages of their respective countries may be allowed,⁴ it is not impossible that there is some historical basis even for this,⁵ if the following factors

¹ G. W. H. Lampe, "The Early Church and the Ministry," *op. cit.*, p. 177; cf. Lohse, *TWNT*, VI, pp. 50f.; A. W. F. Blunt, *CBS*, p. 137: "The list of countries in vv. 9-11 has the ring of a triumphal song, chanting the victories of the Christian message."

² Lake, *EC*, V, p. 120.

³ Beyer, *NTD*, pp. 17f.; Lohse, *TWNT*, VI, p. 51.

⁴ *Vid.* Büchsel, *op. cit.*, p. 244, n. 3; J. Weiss, *The History of Primitive Christianity*, p. 7.

⁵ *Vid.* the observations of C. A. A. Scott, "What Happened at Pentecost," *op. cit.*, pp. 131ff. and Haenchen, *MK*, p. 140, cautioning against regarding Luke's account as a freely developed legendary embellishment of an item in the traditions.

be taken into account: (1) The utterances were of a devotional character rather than of the nature of missionary preaching.¹ (2) A certain spiritual sensitivity may be presupposed on the part of the understanding multitude. They are described as "devout men." They may have sensed the general import of the ecstatic utterances of the disciples as that of praise to God while the less sensitive simply dismissed the phenomena as an evidence of drunkenness.² (3) It is possible that among the ecstatic utterance may have been some words or syllables resembling or including words found in the native languages of the people who heard them.

This is all the more probable if the suggestion of F. F. Bruce is correct:

The Jewish authorities in Palestine appear to have sanctioned the use of any language in reciting certain religious formularies--the Shema, the Eighteen Benedictions, and the blessings invoked upon meals. The praises of God in various tongues were thus heard frequently in Jerusalem during the great festivals, when so many pilgrims from the Diaspora were present in the city.³

Is it not possible that under the emotional excitement of the occasion, some of this religious vocabulary to which the disciples may have been repeatedly exposed may have been thrown up from the sub-conscious mind?⁴

¹ Acts 2:11 "the mighty work of God" extolling God (Acts 10:46), Haenchen, HK, ad. loco., Lake and Cadbury, EC, IV, ad. loco.

² H. Barnett, op. cit., p. 93, following Lake, EC, V, p. 120, cannot accept this suggestion. Vid., however, C. A. A. Scott, "What Happened at Pentecost," op. cit., pp. 128f.; Bartlett, Acts, NCB, p. 384.

³ Acts, NINTC, p. 64. Cf. Str.-B., IV, 1:196.

⁴ A. S. Peake, Bible Commentary, 648b; Blunt, Acts, CBS, p. 137; for such examples see Wright, Some New Testament Problems, pp. 291ff.; for illustration of ability under inspiration to speak in languages normally not usable see D. Walker, The Gift of Tongues, pp. 56f.; J. A. Findlay, The Acts of the Apostles, pp. 66f.

II. THE DIFFUSION OF GLOSSOLALIA

The explicit references to glossolalia in the New Testament are not numerous. Apart from the well-known passages associating this phenomenon with the primitive community on the day of Pentecost (Acts 2:1-13) and the church at Corinth several decades later (I Cor. 12-14), there are only two explicit references.¹ Is it possible on the basis of this meager data to form some opinion regarding the diffusion of glossolalia in the apostolic church?

As already observed, glossolalia was prominently to the fore in the Christian community at Corinth. A. B. Bruce with a touch of humor has vividly described this assembly as "a church mostly gone to tongue."² The importance attached to it by the Corinthians has been variously explained.

T. W. Manson has proposed the theory that glossolalia was not native to the Corinthian community but represents Palestinian Christian influence which was brought to bear upon the church in the interval between Paul's initial eighteen months' ministry in the city and the writing of the first epistle. The problem Paul faced was not

a surfeit of glossolalia at Corinth, but a demand which was being made on the church to produce this particular fruit of the Spirit. I suggest that the demand came from the leaders of the Cephas party and was part of the concerted move to instil Palestinian piety and Palestinian orthodoxy into the Corinthian church. Paul's converts were being told that here was something most important, indeed absolutely essential to the Christian

¹ Acts 10:46 (cf. 11:15); 19:6. Mention may also be made of the reference in the spurious ending of the Gospel of Mark (16:17).

² Op. cit., p. 247.

life. Paul had said little or nothing about it when he was with them; what had he to say now?¹

The more commonly accepted explanation regards the Corinthian's exaggerated interest in glossolalia as a reflection of the church's Hellenistic background.² That something akin to glossolalia was known in the Greek world may be gathered from the evidence assembled by J. Behm and other scholars.³ It would be wrong, of course, to suppose that the phenomenon per se was imported from Hellenistic religion. On the contrary, it was rooted in the Christian experience of the Spirit.⁴ But, undoubtedly, the Corinthians were somewhat influenced in their understanding and appraisal of glossolalia by their pagan heritage. Their minds, to borrow a suggestive analogy, were like "a palimpsest, with fragments of an older writing dimly appearing below the Christian text."⁵

Some scepticism has been expressed as to whether glossolalia ever formed part of the experience of the primitive church at Jerusalem in spite of Luke's account in Acts 2:1-13.⁶ But when due consideration is given to the psychological implications of the moving spiritual experiences of the Passion-Easter period, the subsequent appearances of the

¹ "St. Paul in Ephesus: The Corinthian Correspondence," Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, XXVI (1941-42), p. 116; cf. also M. Barnett, op. cit., pp. 103-08. Contra, C. T. Craig, IB, X, pp. 7f.

² J. Weiss, I Cor., MK, p. 339; cf. P. Volz, op. cit., p. 197.

³ TWNT, I, pp. 722f.; cf. also E. Rohde, Psyche, pp. 255ff.; 284ff.; R. Reitzenstein, Poimandres, pp. 55ff.; M. Barnett, op. cit., pp. 100ff.

⁴ Similar ecstatic phenomena may be discerned in the experience of the Old Testament prophets. Cf. TWNT, I, pp. 723f.; M. Barnett, op. cit., pp. 27f.

⁵ W. Macgregor, op. cit., p. 28, in describing the Eleven.

⁶ Goguel, op. cit., pp. 95ff.; cf. also Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, I, p. 41.

Risen Christ, and the first overwhelming awareness of the Spirit's presence among them with all of its deep significance, there does not seem to be any real reason to doubt the fact that ecstasy which might well find expression in glossolalia was part of the experience of the Christian church in those initial days even in the capital of Judaism.¹ It is important to note that Luke in Acts only mentions glossolalia explicitly in connection with initial receptions of the Holy Spirit and not as a continuing feature of the church's life as was the case in Corinth. This conjunction of glossolalia with the fresh novel experience of the Spirit is psychologically understandable. Is it possible, however, that the phenomenon of glossolalia may have occurred in the Palestinian Christian church more frequently than on the occasions of Pentecost and the conversion of Cornelius?

Peter concluded his sermon on the day of Pentecost by promising the gift of the Holy Spirit to all who would repent and be baptized in the name of Jesus (Acts 2:38f.). It is impossible to say whether Peter thought of the reception of the Spirit in such cases as resulting in glossolalia. This latter gift is not promised and no mention of its occurrence is found in the description of their experience which follows in vv. 41f.²

It is likely that glossolalia may have occurred in the primitive Jerusalem church subsequent to the initial experience on the day of Pentecost. Such an experience, it has been suggested, underlies Acts 4:23-31.

¹ See Büchsel, *op. cit.*, p. 247, n. 1.

² E. B. Stonehouse, "Repentance, Baptism and the Gift of the Spirit," *WTJ*, XII (1950), pp. 15f., regards it probable that miraculous are in view in the promise of the Spirit in Acts 2:38. Cf. also I. J. Martin, "Glossolalia in the Apostolic Church," *JBL*, LXIII (1944), p. 124.

The Greek text of v. 25 is notoriously difficult.¹ W. L. Knox has proposed that perhaps the utter confusion of the text may be due in the first instance to the fact that Luke was attempting "to reproduce the somewhat incoherent language of Christian enthusiasm."² Furthermore, a veiled reference to glossolalia is seen by some scholars in v. 31. A. Bultmann, for example, thinks that the original form of this statement in the source which Luke is utilizing ran as follows: "and they were all filled with the Holy Spirit and spoke with tongues."³ If, however, the present and only text available to us is accepted, it is doubtful whether glossolalia can be found here. The disciples on this occasion are said to have been "filled with the Holy Spirit and spoke the word of God with boldness." Commenting on *παρρησία* Lake and Cadbury express doubt whether "boldness" is quite the right rendering and suggest that it may here refer to an experience approaching ecstasy.⁴ But Haenchen points out that this was missionary preaching and not a "feierndes, kultisches Reden des göttlichen Wortes im engeren Kreise."⁵ He does not believe that an ecstatic seizure is in view. Similarly, H. Schlier in his discussion of *παρρησία* in Acts comes to the conclusion that its meaning is determined basically by the witness context in which it is found and can in all cases be translated

¹ For full discussion vid. Ropes, *BC*, III, pp. 40ff. (cf. IV, pp. 46f.); F. F. Bruce, *Acts*, *NINTC*, pp. 126ff.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 37f.; he remarks further that "no doubt the confusion has been increased by well-meant attempts to improve the text."

³ *Theology of the New Testament*, I, p. 41, n. 2. Harnack, *The Acts of the Apostles*, p. 134, regards this as the basic account of the Pentecost event. Although he speaks of the experience as "an ecstasy" he notes that tongues are not explicitly mentioned.

⁴ *BC*, IV, p. 47.

⁵ *HK*, pp. 189f., quoting O. Bauernfeind, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, p. 80.

by the word Freimut. It is a frankness, candour, and boldness given to the church by her Lord.¹ Probably this passage is intended to describe an occasion in the life of the early church in which the word of God was proclaimed under evident inspiration. It was not, however, a case of glossolalia.

A number of scholars see a reference to glossolalia in Luke's account of the reception of the Spirit by the Samaritan converts of Philip after Peter and John laid their hands upon them.² It seems evident that some visible manifestation of the Spirit's presence was sought by these new converts and that such a manifestation was subsequently given. It was this evident token which was witnessed by Simon and prompted his offer of money for possession of the apostles' ability. It is only reasonable to suppose in light of Acts 2:1-13 and Acts 10:45ff., that glossolalia occurred on this occasion.

In the Gentile Christian church, apart from Corinth, glossolalia is explicitly mentioned only in connection with Ephesus.³ Here the phenomenon follows Christian baptism and the laying on of hands by an apostle. Prophecy is associated with glossolalia on this occasion.

It is possible, however, that glossolalia may have been known in other Gentile Christian communities, although no explicit reference to it is found in our literature. Frequent references are found to the inspired

¹ TWNT, V, p. 880. In Acts παρρησία is found in 4:29, 31; 28:31; and παρρησία ῥομαί in 9:27f., 14:13, 18:26, 19:8.

² Acts 8:15ff.; so Haenchen, NK, pp. 261f.; Foakes Jackson, Acts, NNTC, p. 73; Bartlett, Acts, NCB, p. 212; F. F. Bruce, Acts, NINTC, p. 181.

³ Acts 19:6. Cf. Eph. 5:18f. where glossolalia is not necessarily in view but the sort of enthusiasm which might eventuate in glossolalia is encouraged; vid. Dibelius, INT, ad. loco.; M. Barnett, op. cit., p. 30.

quality of the early church's life, the deep stirrings of the Spirit, the glad joy and enthusiasm which occasionally may have passed over into glossolalia.¹ Glossolalia is referred to in the spurious ending of Mark (16:17). The time and place of the composition of this passage are obscure.² It is possible, however, that it may witness to the presence of the gift in the church where it was composed.³ Surely, it would be precarious to assume that the profuse manifestation of glossolalia at Corinth is to be taken as typical of Gentile Christianity in the apostolic age. On the other hand, the phenomenon may have been more widespread than the explicit references may suggest.⁴ Especially is this true if W. Barnett's suggestion is accepted that Paul's question to the Ephesian disciples (Acts 19:2) was a standard question normally put to new converts and to which an affirmative answer was expected on the basis of some ecstatic token such as glossolalia.⁵

From Paul's personal confession in 1 Cor. 14:18 it is known that

¹ Gunkel, op. cit., p. 19, would see a reference to glossolalia in I Thess. 5:19 and II Thess. 2:2. For references to enthusiasm vid. I Thess. 1:6; Gal. 4:6; Rom. 8:15f., 26f.; Col. 3:16; I Pet. 1:8.

² Rawlinson, Mark, WC, p. 246, has proposed either Rome or Asia Minor, late in the first century or early in the second; Streeter, Four Gospels, p. 350, also inclines toward Rome.

³ Although this passage may have been composed out of materials found in Luke-Acts; so Streeter, ibid.

⁴ Hopwood, op. cit., p. 147, is of the opinion that glossolalia was fairly widespread in the early church during the first twenty years of its history. How long glossolalia remained a living part of the experience of the church as it moved toward the close of the first century and into the second is impossible to say. The Apostolic Fathers do not mention it; neither does Justin Martyr. It is possible that Irenaeus may have witnessed the gift in his day but evidently it was most uncommon; Adv. Haer., V, 6.1. Cf. Cutten, Speaking with Tongues, pp. 33f.

⁵ Op. cit., pp. 104ff.

glossolalia was frequently a part of his private devotional experience.¹ Rackham has suggested that Paul probably spoke in tongues at the time of his baptism.²

The gift of glossolalia probably was not attached to particular persons in as constant a way as the gift of apostleship, prophecy or teaching. This may be inferred from the less definite way in which the glossolalist is referred to in contrast to the apostle, prophet and teacher.³ It is only to be expected, however, that certain persons were by nature more psychologically disposed to the experience than others.

III. GLOSSOLALIA AS A ΧΑΡΙΣΜΑ

Paul regarded glossolalia as a *Χάρισμα*. It was not to be explained as a vestige of paganism which was carried over into the Christian church and consequently needed to be eradicated as quickly as possible. On the contrary, he clearly attributes it to the Spirit at work in the life of the community.⁴ For this reason he can say to the Corinthians, "I want you all to speak in tongues" (I Cor. 14:5). He is thankful for the manifestation of the gift in his own life (I Cor. 14:18) and he would have no one forbid its manifestation among them (I Cor. 14:39).

He would not have any such expression of the Spirit quenched by cool criticism. It is to be desired not despised. Better deep feeling, better even unintelligible rapture or involuntary

¹ A. B. Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 43, suggests that Rom. 8:26 may echo glossolalia in Paul's prayer experience.

² Acts, WC, p. 135. He supposes this on the basis of analogy with Acts 2:4, 10:46, 19:6.

³ H. Greeven, *op. cit.*, pp. 4f.

⁴ The connection of glossolalia with the Spirit is emphasized in the preference expressed by German scholars for the term "Geistessprache" to that of "Zungenrede" to designate this phenomenon; cf. TWNT, I, p. 725; Wendland, NTD, VII, p. 119.

seizures of ecstasy, now and then, than calm indifference or clever argument or superficial sentiment!¹

A *Χάρισμα* is not only a gift of the Spirit, but also a service ability given to build up the church. Judged by this canon it is not so easy to see how glossolalia could be included among the gifts. Paul readily granted that its exercise had value for the glossolalist himself (I Cor. 14:14). The utterance, though unintelligible to others, was not meaningless to the speaker. He was giving expression to thoughts, aspirations and experiences which could find no other outlet. In the pouring out of his soul in worship he experienced inner release and spiritual satisfaction. But could glossolalia edify the church and thus be regarded as a true *Χάρισμα*?

The rational communication of knowledge is a desideratum for the edification of the group. However warm may be the emotional glow of an ecstatic experience, its practical value in ministering to the building up of the faith and life of the church is little. Social benefit is possible only if the unintelligible utterances are interpreted either by the glossolalist himself or by someone else. Hence there is closely joined with the mention of glossolalia another gift, the interpretation of tongues (I Cor. 12:10, 30). This gift supplies what is necessary to make the exercise of glossolalia a *Χάρισμα*.² Thus Paul was willing to allow a limited place to glossolalia in public worship if the utterances were interpreted (I Cor. 14:29). If no one with the gift of interpretation

¹ Moffatt, I Cor., MNTC, p. 211.

² Lauterburg, op. cit., p. 26: "Denn die γένη γλωσσῶν werden . . . im Grunde erste durch Mitwirkung der verstandesmäßigen ἐρμηνεία zu einem Charisma."

was present, he instructed the glossolalist to "keep silence in the church and speak to himself and to God" (I Cor. 14:28).¹ Thus, if Paul allowed glossolalia the status of a *χάρισμα* through its connection with the gift of interpretation, he regarded it as of minor rather than major significance. In both instances where he listed it among the gifts, he placed it last in the order of enumeration (I Cor. 12:10, 28). This was scarcely accidental. From the point of view of its utility in ministering to the spiritual edification and upbuilding of the total Christian community its potentialities were severely limited.

¹ Glossolalia may also have been regarded by Paul as having a certain missionary value as a sign that a divine power was at work in the church, I Cor. 14:22f. Unbelievers "could take from it the warning that if they despised this Gospel they exposed themselves to the judgment of God," E. F. Scott, *The Spirit in the New Testament*, p. 105. But this interpretation is difficult to reconcile with v. 23 where Paul seems to recognize no such positive understanding of the significance of glossolalia on the part of unbelievers. Probably the term "sign" should be understood in the same sense as in Luke 2:34, "a sign to be spoken against" and therefore, as a means of confirming the unbelieving in their unbelief. Cf. also Matt. 12:39. This is the view of Robertson and Plummer, ICC, *ad. loco.*; Moffatt, *MNTC*, *ad. loco.*; cf. R. N. Flew, *op. cit.*, p. 145, n. 4.

CHAPTER VI

THE ΧΑΡΙΣΜΑ OF THE INTERPRETATION OF GLOSSOLALIA

Closely associated with glossolalia in the two catalogues of **χαρίσματα** where it is included is the gift of interpretation.¹ Frequent reference also is made to this gift in connection with Paul's discussion of glossolalia in I Cor. 14.² Apart from these passages it is not mentioned elsewhere in the New Testament.

I. THE NATURE OF THE GIFT

As in the case of glossolalia the nature of this gift is nowhere defined by Paul. Since it is so closely linked with glossolalia the view held of the latter will influence the understanding of the former. If glossolalia be regarded as actual speech either in a heavenly or in a foreign human language, then the gift of interpretation should probably be understood in the sense of translation.³ But whatever may have been the ancient conception of the nature of glossolalia, essentially it was unintelligible ecstatic utterance. It is from this point of view that an attempt must be made to understand the gift. This means that the activity described as the **ἐρμηνεία γλωσσῶν** partook more of the

¹ I Cor. 12:10, 30. This gift is referred to by the use both of the older simple form, **ἐρμηνεία** (I Cor. 12:10; cf. 14:26), and the post-classical compound, **διερμηνεύειν** (I Cor. 12:30; cf. 14:5, 13, 27). There is no difference in meaning. Cf. TWNT, II, pp. 659f.

² Vv. 5, 13, 26, 27, 28.

³ **Ἐρμηνεύειν** and its cognates are employed in Greek literature in the following ways: (1) to explain or interpret; (2) to proclaim or discourse on without the idea of interpreting; (3) to translate. For examples of each usage see TWNT, II, pp. 659f.; Arndt and Gingrich, op. cit., s.v. J. G. Davies, loc. cit., supports the view that Paul regarded glossolalia as speech in foreign languages by observing that of the twenty-one occurrences of **ἐρμηνεύειν** and its cognates in the LXX and the New Testament (apart from I Cor. 12-14) eighteen carry the sense of "translation."

character of interpretation than translation. A translation of non-sensical sounds was impossible. The interpreter, on the contrary, transformed unintelligible utterances into intelligible speech. He attempted to lay hold of the meaning of the moving of the Spirit in the enraptured soul of the glossolalist and to state it clearly for the benefit of others in the Christian community. Consequently, as J. Behm¹ has observed, the interpreter of glossolalia is not to be regarded as the Christian counterpart of the Jewish interpreter in the synagogue who translated the Scripture lesson from Hebrew into Aramaic for the benefit of the hearers. Rather he is to be compared with the interpreter of the divine speech in Plato² and in Philo.³ But one difference is to be noted. In these authors the ἐρμηνεύτης interpreted a divine oracle or revelation intended for man. According to Paul the task of the interpreter was to supply meaning to the ecstatic sounds which were directed to God in order that the community also would be edified by the utterance.

Paul regarded the ability to interpret glossolalia as a gift of the Spirit. He offered no psychological explanation for understanding how it operated in the recipient. When the gift was granted to the glossolalist, it may be understood as having reference to his ability to give rational meaning to the aspirations and emotions which were previously expressed in ecstatic utterance. If the interpreter was someone other than the glossolalist, a degree of spiritual and psychological affinity doubtless is to be presupposed on the part of the former with the latter. Marcus Dods has drawn attention to the importance of the factor of

¹ TWNT, II, pp. 661f.

² Ion. 534E; 535A; Tim 72A.

³ De Decal., 175; De Mut. Nom., 125f.; De Spec. Leg., III, 7; Quis Rer. Div., 259.

empathy in the process of interpretation:

For as music can only be interpreted by one who has a feeling for music, and as the inarticulate language of tears or sighs or groans can only be comprehended by a sympathetic soul, so the tongues could only be interpreted by those whose spiritual state corresponded to that of the gifted person.¹

In addition to this general psychological kinship with the glossolalist, the interpreter probably was able to pick up a clue from his intonation "which enabled him to judge whether the utterance was a song or a prayer, and whether it expressed penitence or aspiration, exultation or thanksgiving."² A chance word, or the recurrence of particular sounds or syllables would offer further clues. Thus Moffatt says: " . . . After listening to a glossolalist pouring out expressions like 'a-b-a-b,' etc., it might be interpreted by a hearer to mean, 'He is saying Abba.'"³ Facial expression, possible gestures, and some knowledge of the person's general disposition or previous experience may have afforded additional help to the interpreter. Possibly in most cases the utterances did not signify anything very profound or mysterious and sensitive sympathetic persons would normally be able to discern the general import of the utterance.⁴

II. THE DIFFUSION OF THE GIFT

It appears that this gift was somewhat less common in the Corinthian community than the ability to speak in tongues. Occasionally the gift was conjoined with that of glossolalia (I Cor. 14:13), but at other times

¹ I Cor., The Expositor's Bible, V, p. 694b.

² W. Morgan, op. cit., p. 164.

³ I Cor., INTC, p. 213.

⁴ Cf. E. F. Scott, The Spirit in the New Testament, p. 105.

it was exercised by a person distinct from the glossolalist (I Cor. 12:10; 14:5, 27). Sometimes when glossolalia was potentially present in the assembly, it appears that no one possessed the gift of interpretation (I Cor. 14:28). This may mean either that the gift was sporadic in its manifestation or that the person or persons with whom the gift was regularly associated were absent from the assembly on that particular occasion.¹ Although no data is available, it may be assumed that the gift of interpretation was found to some extent also in other Christian communities than Corinth where glossolalia was in evidence.

III. THE INTERPRETATION OF GLOSSOLALIA AS A ΧΑΡΙΣΜΑ

The ἐρμηνεία γλωσσῶν was regarded as a χάρισμα by Paul not merely because it was a Spirit-given ability but especially because it served to turn the highly individualistic experience of glossolalia into something of value for the edification of the church. Thus this gift supplied what was lacking in glossolalia itself for it to find status in the public worship of the Christian community. This accounts for the close association of this gift with glossolalia in Paul's lists of the χαρίσματα and the prohibition of glossolalia in the Christian assembly in the absence of this gift.

¹ Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 10, thinks the evidence of I Cor. 14 would "indicate that at Corinth interpretation was the exception rather than the rule."

CHAPTER VII

THE ΧΑΡΙΣΜΑΤΑ OF MIRACLE-WORKING

Included among the χαρίσματα which were bestowed by the Spirit upon various members of the early church were abilities associated not only with speech but also with action. In I Cor. 12:9f. Paul mentions three gifts which properly belong to the category of miracle-working χαρίσματα. These are the following: (1) πίστις; (2) χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων (3) ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων. In the second catalogue in the same chapter (vv. 28ff.) reference is made again to the last two of this trio. None of these gifts are included in the catalogues which are found in Rom. 12:6ff. and Eph. 4:11.

I. THE NATURE OF THE GIFTS

Perhaps no other gifts among all the χαρίσματα pose such difficult problems of understanding for the modern Christian mind as the gifts of miracle-working. Although the purpose of this study is descriptive rather than apologetic, a proper understanding of them requires that they be seen in their proper context. Brief attention, therefore, will need to be given to the Biblical view of miracles.¹

A. The Biblical Concept of Miracles

Miracles and natural law. To the modern mind a miracle is an infraction of the law of nature by the intervention of Deity or some supernatural

¹ Excellent discussions may be found in the following works: H. W. Robinson, Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament; E. C. Rust, Nature and Man in Biblical Thought; R. M. Grant, Miracle and Natural Law in Graeco-Roman and Early Christian Thought; A. Richardson, The Miracle-Stories of the Gospels; D. S. Cairns, The Faith that Rebels; E. R. Micklem, Miracles and the New Psychology.

agency.¹ Such a concept, however, is foreign to the Biblical understanding of miracle. It presupposes the modern distinction between nature and supernature which is not characteristic of the Biblical world view. In contrast to the deistic view of nature which was widely accepted as a dogma of science in the nineteenth century and is still the working hypothesis of the popular mind, the Hebrew vocabulary does not even contain a word equivalent to our term 'nature.' "The only way to render this idea into Hebrew," says H. W. Robinson, "would be to say simply 'God.'"² To the Hebrew mind the whole of nature was directly dependent upon God and was regarded as an immediate expression of His divine will and power. He was not only its creator but also its daily sustainer.³ As such He was free to act in unusual as well as regularly recurring ways.⁴ It is not surprising, therefore, that the Old Testament regards very ordinary phenomena as miracles.⁵ To be sure, the Israelite was familiar with the regularities of nature and could speak of God's ordinances controlling its various manifestations.⁶ Some miracles were ab-

¹ Note the definition of miracle in The Oxford English Dictionary, s.v.: "A marvellous event occurring within human experience, which cannot have been brought about by human power, or by the operation of any natural agency, and must therefore be ascribed to the special intervention of the Deity or of some supernatural being."

² Inspiration and Revelation, p. 1.

³ Cf. Neh. 9:6; Jer. 10:13; Psa. 65:9f.; 145:15; 147:8f., 16f.

⁴ Cf. S. Mowinckel, Psalmstudien, II, p. 224: "The fundamental principle in the world outlook of the primitive man is that everything is possible," cited by H. W. Robinson, Inspiration and Revelation, p. 34.

⁵ E.g. Psa. 139:14 regards the structure of the body as a "wonder." Similarly, rain is regarded as one of God's marvellous acts, Job 5:9f.

⁶ E.g. Job 28:26; 38: 8-11, 33; Psa. 104:8f.; Jer. 5:22; 8:6f.; Hosea 2:18.

normal in the sense that in them the usual regularities of nature were broken. But the breach of such regularities was not the differentia of miracles. In seeking to state the essence of the Biblical concept of miracle the words of E. C. Rust may be quoted in which he summarizes the distinction between the "wonder" and the normal processes of nature. A "wonder" is not

the interference of natural law or the inbreak of the supernatural; . . . all nature was supernatural, since all was immediately linked to God and secondary causes were ignored. The normal events of nature could thus be wonders or miracles just as much as the abnormal, for all were alike due to the divine action . . . what differentiated a wonder was not simply its physical content but its testimony value, the fact that the presence of the divine activity within it was more strongly evident or that its "supernatural" content was greater.¹

The essence of a miracle then was not so much the content of the event itself as its relation to the divine purpose. This may be seen by the fact that unusual events could be performed also by witchcraft and magic.² The hallmark of the genuine "wonder" is that it reveals in a special way the presence and power of God.

The Old Testament put wonders and the normal processes of nature side by side, so that God was manifest in both. The only difference lay in a heightening of the divine presence in the wonder, a greater manifestation of the power of God.³

¹ Nature and Man in Biblical Thought, p. 84. For an adequate understanding of the Old Testament concept of miracle the following Hebrew words need to be studied: (1) אֵלֶּיךָ and its cognate אֵלֶּי which designate that which excites wonder, (2) אֵימָה which may best be rendered "sign," and (3) אֵימָה which may be translated "portent." For a full discussion of these and related terms with illustrations vid. W. Eichrodt, Theologie des Alten Testaments, II, pp. 83-86.

² E.g. Ex. 7:11f.; 8:7.

³ E. C. Rust, Nature and Man in Biblical Thought, p. 88. Cf. H. W. Robinson, Inspiration and Revelation, p. 39.

The Old Testament conception of miracle is also characteristic both of Judaism¹ and the New Testament. In the case of the latter, attention may be called particularly to the view of nature which appears in the teachings of Jesus. He recognized a certain order and regularity in nature² which, however, was nothing other than the direct expression of the will of God.³ For Jesus no less than His Old Testament predecessors, there was no abstract intermediary between God and man such as "natural law." God was active directly in nature and conversely the whole of nature was immediately dependent upon Him. There was no rigid distinction between the natural and the supernatural for the entire natural order was supernatural in the sense that it expressed the will of God and was the object of His direct providential care. This conception of nature and God's relation to it provides the standpoint from which the miracles in the early church need to be approached.

Miracles and the new age. In the Old Testament miracles in the sense of unusual events are associated prominently with two periods: (1) the era of Moses and the Exodus and the subsequent occupation of Canaan under the leadership of Joshua; and (2) the later prophetic ministries of Elijah and his successor Elisha.⁴ Miracles play no significant role in the great prophets. Although the Psalms are full of praises extolling the miracle-working God of Israel, it is the miracles of the past that are in view. With the rise of apocalyptic thought miracles came to

¹ Vid. E. C. Rust, Nature and Man in Biblical Thought, pp. 154-158 for a fully documented discussion.

² Mk. 4:26-28; 13:28; Matt. 16:2f.; Lk. 6:44; 12:54f.

³ Matt. 5:45; Lk. 12:4ff., 22f.

⁴ The Biblical evidence is conveniently assembled by R. M. Grant, op. cit., pp. 157ff.

be expected as the accompaniment of the inauguration of God's kingdom in the future. God would again renew His favor toward Israel as in the days of the Exodus (Micah 7:15). The miracle-worker, Elijah, was expected to return (Mal. 4:5). Men would witness unusual portents in nature (Joel 2:30f.). The new age itself according to this literature, would be the greatest of miracles, although other wonders would be associated with it.¹ That the expectation of great miracles occurring was abroad among apocalyptically minded Jews in the first century A. D. is attested by various accounts found in the writings of Josephus.²

Although in Jewish sources there is not very much about signs to be wrought by the Messiah,³ it is assumed that he will be equipped with miraculous powers; and as the prophets were expected to corroborate their message with miracles, we may assume that the Messiah likewise and in more striking ways would do so.⁴ This belief is reflected in the Gospels.⁵

That Jesus performed miracles is abundantly attested by the Synoptic tradition.⁶ That he attached Messianic significance to them need not be

¹ Cf. Jub. 23:26-30; II Esdr. 7:27; 13:50; II Bar. 29:5ff.; 51:7; Test. Zeb. 9:8 (b d g); Test. Sim. 6:6.

² E.g. Antiq. XX. 5.1; Wars II. 13.4; II. 13.5. Cf. Antiq. XX. 8.6.

³ Bultmann, Die Geschichte der Synoptischen Tradition, p. 245, quotes Midr. Qoh. 73.3 ("As was the former redeemer Moses so is the latter" i.e. like Moses, the Messiah would do wonderful works). He also refers to the tradition that the Messiah would raise the dead, Tanh. 54.4. But these are drawn from late sources. Cf. also Str.-B., II, pp. 481ff.

⁴ C. H. Dodd, The Fourth Gospel, pp. 89f.

⁵ Mk. 13:22; Matt. 11:2ff. and // Lk. 7:18ff.; cf. Jno. 6:30, 7:31.

⁶ V. Taylor, The Formation of the Gospel Tradition, pp. 119f., isolates eighteen Miracle-Stories and three Pronouncement-Stories which record miracles. Cf. W. Manson, Jesus the Messiah, p. 72: "Miracle is not a late importation into the tradition of Jesus, but constitutes the primary stratum."

doubted.¹ Jesus' miracles were not adjuncts to His main mission; they cannot be ignored advantageously in an effort to understand Him.² They were part of the good news of the Gospel.³ The good news of the kingdom which Jesus proclaimed was no mere glib verbalism about beautiful but innocuous ideas. The Gospel, as Paul later understood it, was "the power of God for salvation" (Rom. 1:16). The coming of the kingdom must mean the casting out of Satan (Lk. 11:14-22). Jesus understood His mission to be the proclamation of "release to the captives and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty those who are oppressed, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord" (Lk. 4:18f.). God was in action in the midst of His people. The new age was dawning and men were beginning to experience its power (cf. Heb. 6:5). The miracles of Jesus can be understood properly only when they are seen as part and parcel of the inbreaking of the kingdom of God.⁴ For this reason they are mentioned in the Gospels in the same breath with the teaching and preaching of the gospel of the kingdom.⁵

¹ Lk. 11:20 and // Matt. 12:28; cf. Matt. 11:2ff.; Lk. 4:18f.; 7:18ff.; Lk. 4:18f.; Lk. 7:18ff. Cf. E. C. Hoskyns, "Jesus, the Messiah," Mysterium Christi, p. 74: "It is extremely difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Lord Himself attached Messianic significance to His works of healing."

² E.g. J. Klausner, Jesus of Nazareth, p. 411; cf. also M. Goguel, The Life of Jesus, p. 219.

³ Cf. Cairns, op. cit., p. 40, who speaks of the miracles as not being "seals attached to the document but part of the document itself."

⁴ Cf. A. Richardson, The Miracle-Stories of the Gospel, chap. III; W. Manson, Jesus the Messiah, p. 70; and Oepke, TWNT, III, p. 213.

⁵ Cf. Matt. 4:23; 9:35; Mk. 1:38f.

If Jesus engaged in a ministry of healing, He also delegated the ability and authority to heal to His disciples.¹ This transmission of the gift of healing to His disciples is not to be understood as the impartation of a power which henceforth was their personal possession to use as they desired. The purpose of the gift was not for the aggrandizement of the disciples² but for the equipment of them in deed, as in word, to be effective witnesses of the kingdom whose advent they were sent to proclaim. Consequently, the miracles which the early church performed, like those of her Master, were signs of the new age.³ They were not miracles of every sort but specifically miracles of the kingdom.

B. The Terminology Employed and Its Meaning

The manner in which Paul refers to the miracle-working gifts in I Cor. 12:9f. would suggest that he intended some differentiation to be made between them.⁴ But the nature of the distinction and the precise relation of these gifts to each other is not made explicit. At first sight, the inclusion of πίστις among the χαρίσματα seems strangely out of place. This is one of the key terms in Paul's theology, but nowhere else does he suggest that it is a χάρισμα.⁵ Closer examina-

¹ Mk. 3:14f.; 6:7 and //s; cf. Lk. 10:9.

² Note the warnings against pride in the exercise of the gift: Mk. 9:38f.; Lk. 10:20; cf. Matt. 7:22.

³ For this reason the miracles in Acts are never called merely τέρατα but also σημεῖα; cf. Acts 2:43; 5:12; 6:8; 14:3; 15:12.

⁴ Note the Greek: ἐτέρω . . . ἄλλω δὲ . . . ἄλλω δὲ . . .; cf. also I Cor. 12:28ff.

⁵ Faith is mentioned in the contexts of two other catalogues of gifts (Rom. 12:3; Eph. 4:13) but in both instances with a different meaning than here. In Gal. 5:22f. faith is included among the fruit of the Spirit but the meaning there is probably faithfulness; cf. Schlier, KK, ad. loco.

tion, however, will reveal that Paul is using faith in this passage in a somewhat restricted sense since it is a gift given only to particular persons within the Christian community and not to all Christians.¹ Furthermore, the close association of faith with the gifts of healing and miracle-working and a similar association in I Cor. 13:2 would suggest that Paul has miracle-working faith primarily in view. But care must be taken not to speak of this faith in such a way as to suggest that it is other in kind from faith that saves.² Rather it is faith in the sense of personal trust in God operating for the benefit of the Christian community. It is faith which clings steadfastly to God in the face of a given need in the life of the community thus enabling God to work in an extraordinary way.³

Of the two remaining terms, *ἰάματα* and *δυνάμεις*, the second is the less specific in its reference.⁴ T. C. Edwards has suggested that

¹ Parry, *CGT*, *ad. loco.*, regards faith as forming a link between the gifts of exposition which precede and the gifts of action which follow and as contributing the distinctive element in each. This does not do justice to Paul's particularistic terminology. H. v. Soden followed by Schweizer, *Das Leben des Herrn*, pp. 43f., n. 17, regards faith here as the response to "the utterance of wisdom" and "the utterance of knowledge." It is difficult, however, to see why Paul should restrict such response to a few persons; cf. Kümmel's note on I Cor. 12:9 in Lietzmann, *HNT*, p. 187, S 61 Z 40.

² Calvin, *CC*, *ad. loco.*, is in danger of this.

³ Cf. Moffatt, *MNTC*, *ad. loco.*: "Faith (as in *Xiii*, 2) is heroic belief in the supernatural, an indomitable assurance that God can overcome any difficulties and meet any emergencies (Matt. xvii, pp. 19f.). With some this rises to special heights."

⁴ It should be noted that both of these terms are plural in form. Perhaps Paul thought of different persons as being able to perform only particular types of healings or miracles (Robertson and Plummer, *ICC*, *ad. loco.*) or that each healing or miracle was a fresh *χάρισμα* (Schlatter, *Paulus*, p. 341). There is, however, an alternate textual tradition. The singular, *χάρισμα*, is read by d, e, g**, vg., Moion, Tert., Hil., Amb., Aug. J. Weiss, *MK*, *ad. loco.*, thinks it is possible that this may be the correct reading. The singular, *ἐνεργεία*, is supported by D, G, it., vg., Hil. The singular *δυνάμεις* is found in D, G, m Cyr.^{hr.}, Gaud.

although *δυνάμεις* might well have included *ἰάματα* as is frequently the case in the New Testament, the latter are here mentioned separately because of the important place they occupied in the ministry of Jesus and the apostles.¹ J. E. Frame would see in *ἰάματα* cures of ordinary diseases while *δυνάμεις* refer to extraordinary diseases.² Not a few scholars, however, are inclined to regard *ἰάματα* as referring to healings exclusive of exorcisms and *δυνάμεις* as designating this special class of miracles.³ But regardless of which of these views may commend itself to the judgment of the student, it is difficult to see what special type of miracle, if any, is intended by *πίστις*. This term would seem to throw emphasis upon the gift of faith lying behind the performance of all miracles rather than describing a particular class. Perhaps in the absence of specific data for drawing a clear distinction between these three terms, they may be regarded for the purpose of this study as referring comprehensively to the *χάρισμα* of miracle-working.⁴

¹ I Cor., ad. loco.

² Thess., ICC, p. 205. Perhaps *ἰάματα* may designate a more calm and less sudden working than *ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεως*.

³ So Weiss, MK, ad. loco. He finds the clue to this specialized use of *δυνάμεις* in Mk. 9:39 where an exorcism is called a *δύναμις*. Cf. also Schlier, MK, on Gal. 3:5; Lauterburg, op. cit., p. 15, n. 1; Grundmann, TWNT, II, p. 316; S. J. Case, "The Art of Healing in Early Christian Times," JR, III (1923), pp. 253f. If this interpretation is accepted, then the problem of the supposed silence of Paul regarding exorcisms which are so prominently to the fore in the Gospels and Acts is somewhat mitigated; cf. A. Richardson, The Miracle Stories of the Gospels, pp. 70ff.

⁴ In spite of Paul's apparent distinction between these gifts, it is possible that he may be speaking pleonastically and that no more is intended than a difference of emphasis as in the case of the threefold designation of miracles as *σημεῖα*, *τέρατα* and *δυνάμεις*. If this is true, then *πίστις* would emphasize the gift of faith as the basis of miracles; *ἰάματα* their predominant character; *δυνάμεις* (or perhaps the singular) the powers operative in them. For this use of *δυνάμεις* vid. Arndt and Gingrich, op. cit., s.v.

The epistles in general throw little light on the various types of miracles which characterized the life of the early church apart from the fact that miracles of healing are specifically alluded to several times.¹ For the most part the references to miracles in these letters provide no clue to their character.² The case is otherwise, however, in the book of Acts. Here not only are specific miracles recorded in more or less detail, but even in the more general references to miracles their character is often specified.³ As in the case of Jesus' miracles, those of Acts are predominantly healing miracles. Indeed, apart from the miracles of judgment in the case of Elymas who was smitten with temporary blindness (Acts 13:8-11) and perhaps Ananias and Sapphira (Acts 5:1-10),⁴ all of the miracles recorded or summarily referred to are healing miracles.⁵ Interestingly enough, nature miracles such as are found in the ministry of Jesus are not reported in connection with the apostolic church.

¹ I Cor. 12:9, 28, 30; Jas. 5:14ff.

² Cf. Rom. 15:19; II Cor. 12:12; Gal. 3:5; Heb. 2:4; 6:5. In light of the evidence from Acts, however, probably healing miracles are mainly in view.

³ E.g. Acts 5:15f.; 8:7; 19:11f.; 28:9.

⁴ This account has occasioned commentators much difficulty. E.g. J. A. Findlay, The Acts of the Apostles, p. 83, says: "To our minds the whole tone of the story seems unchristian." For solutions vid. Haenchen, ME, ad. loco.; F. F. Bruce, NICNT, ad. loco.; and Hopwood, op. cit., p. 183.

⁵ Cf. Acts 5:16; 8:7; 16:16ff.; 19:11. Exorcisms are also included under this category. The restoration of Dorcas (Acts 9:36-42) may also be regarded as a healing miracle; so F. F. Bruce, NICNT, ad. loco. For a modern attempt to analyze the type of illness reported in the various accounts of healing in Acts vid. L. Weatherhead, Psychology, Religion and Healing, pp. 81-84.

C. Healing and the Use of Means

Since the miracles of the early church appear to have been mainly healings, some attention should be given to the means employed in effecting the cures. Behind the healing ministry of the early Christians stands the figure of the great Physician in the Gospels. A comparison of the healing procedures utilized by Jesus with those practiced in the Graeco-Roman world highlights the marked simplicity which characterized Jesus' methods. There is no prescription of diet¹ or cure by incubation which was so commonly practiced in the temples of Asklepios at Epidauros, Cos, Pergamum and elsewhere in the ancient world.² The most prominent feature of Jesus' healing procedure was the spoken word of command. Frequently this alone is mentioned as effecting the cure.³ At other times Jesus made some physical contact with the ill person, such as touching him, laying His hand on him, or taking him by the hand.⁴ In a few instances, reference is made to the use of spittle in addition to contact with the hands.⁵

¹ E.g. W. Dittenberger, Syll., 1170; cf. Oepke, TWNT, III, pp. 208f.

² Vid. Hamilton, Incubation in Pagan Temples; also R. Caton, The Temples and Ritual of Asklepios.

³ Mk. 2:1-12; 3:1-6; 5:1-20; 7:24-30; 9:22-27; 10:46-52. Although healing by word also occurred in paganism, it was mostly in the form of magical incantation; cf. Oepke, TWNT, III, p. 210. For the significance of healing by word alone vid. A. Richardson, The Miracle-Stories of the Gospels, pp. 53f.

⁴ E.g. Mk. 1:29-31 (but cf. Matt. 8:15); 1:40-45; 7:31-37; Matt. 9:27-31; 20:29-34; Lk. 4:40; 13:10-13; 22:50f.

⁵ Mk. 7:31-37; 8:22-26; cf. Jno. 9:1-7. For an interesting classification of Jesus' healing miracles based on the psychological mechanisms which were employed vid. Weatherhead, op. cit., pp. 39-78.

When attention is turned from the Gospels to Acts, the prominence of the spoken word in the execution of cures again is noteworthy. In the case of the healing of Aeneas, the cripple at Lystra, and the pythoness at Philippi, the spoken word alone is mentioned as operative in the healing.¹ Physical contact with the ill either in the form of the laying on of hands or taking the person by the hand occurred in several instances.² Explicit mention is made of prayer in the healing of Publius and the restoration of Dorcas.³ Reference to healing resulting from contact with objects associated with the person of Paul occurs in connection with his ministry in Ephesus.⁴ In the case of the healing of the lame man at the gate of the temple, attention is called to the directed gaze of the apostles and the fixed attention of the lame man which preceded the healing.⁵ There are no recorded instances of healing in the absence of the ill person as is the case in the Gospels. The exercise of faith on the part of the ill is mentioned explicitly only in the case of the healing of the cripple at Lystra.⁶

In comparing the healing miracles of Acts with those in the Gospels, L. Weatherhead observes that there are no cases of careful and lengthy

¹ Acts 9:32-34; 14:8-10; 16:16-18.

² Acts 3:2-10; 9:17-19; 9:36-42; 28:7f. It is possible that the laying on of hands may have taken place also in other instances: e.g. Acts 5:12; 14:3; 19:11; 28:9; cf. Daube, *op. cit.*, p. 234, n. 7.

³ Acts 28:7; 9:40.

⁴ Acts 19:11f (cf. Acts 5:15); cf. also Mk. 5:27ff.; 6:56; Lk. 6:19.

⁵ Acts 3:4f.; cf. also Acts 13:9ff.

⁶ Acts 14:9. Acts 3:16 probably refers to the faith of the apostles; cf. Lake and Cadbury, *BC*, IV, *ad. loco*. But Stephen who performed miracles is described as "a man full of faith" (Acts 6:5).

treatments such as seems to have marked Jesus' treatment of the Gerasene demoniac (Lk. 8:26-39). The psychological mechanism employed is that of suggestion. "There seems to be," he writes, "a simple challenge made by the healer to the 'faith' or rather the trustful expectancy, of the patient and the mention of the name and power of Jesus."¹

The references to healing in the epistles for the most part provide little information on the means employed in effecting it. We do not know how the gift of healing referred to in I Cor. 12:9, 28, 30 was practiced.² In the epistle of James there is a curious reference to the practice of anointing with oil in relation to healing.³ Oil was widely used for medicinal purposes both in Hellenism and in Judaism.⁴ The practice in James, however, is recommended for all cases of illness even though in the ancient world it was never regarded as a universal treatment for illness. Whatever medicinal value the practice may have had, it is clear in this case that it was given a religious interpretation.⁵ It was to be done "in the name of the Lord" and accompanied by prayer. Indeed, prayer is the more important part of the ceremony for "the prayer of faith will save the sick man and the Lord will raise him up" (v. 15). It may be noted also that in this passage the forgiveness of sin is closely

¹ Op. cit., p. 84.

² Cf. Schlatter, Paulus, p. 341: "Auf die Weise, wie die Heilung bewirke, wird kein Gewicht gelegt."

³ Jas. 5:14ff.

⁴ Vid. the evidence assembled by Schlier, TWNT, I, p. 230ff.; II, p. 470, and Str.-B., I, pp. 428f.; II, pp. 11f.; cf. also Luke 10:34 and M. Shub 19.2.

⁵ B. S. Easton, IB, XII, p. 16, maintains that the rite is already quasi-sacramental, if not wholly so. This is doubtful.

associated with healing.¹

It is impossible to say how widespread this practice was in the early church. B. S. Easton is of the opinion that it was far from a universal custom.² On the other hand, the common use of oil for medicinal purposes might suggest that the practice may have been more common than the evidenced would indicate. The disciples apparently practiced anointing the sick with oil in connection with their healings during the ministry of Jesus.³ There is no evidence, however, that Jesus did so or that He instructed His disciples to do so.

II. THE DIFFUSION OF THE GIFTS

It is clear from I Cor. 12:9f. and vv. 28ff. that Paul did not regard all Christians as having miracle-working gifts. No more than the gifts of prophecy, glossolalia, or teaching did this ability belong to the warp and woof of Christian experience. As noted earlier, reference in the various catalogues of *χαρίσματα* is made to these gifts only in I Cor. 12. This could suggest that they were prominent only at Corinth. How few or many possessed these gifts even there is not known. No reference is made to the exercise of these gifts by the Corinthians elsewhere in Paul's correspondence with them. However common or uncommon these gifts may have been among them, apparently not all "the weak and

¹ Sickness was widely held in the ancient world as due to sin; Deut. 28:22, 27; Isa. 38:17; Eccles. 18:19-20; Test. Rub. 1:7; Jno. 9:2; I Cor. 11:30. B. W. Bacon, *Studies in Matthew*, p. 391, says that the connection between forgiveness and healing was "inseparable in the teaching both of the Synagogue and of the early church."

² Loc. cit.

³ Mark 6:13. Anointing with oil is here also closely associated with exorcism. This is of particular interest in view of the fact that oil was used as an exorcistic agent; cf. Schlier, *Twent*, I, pp. 230ff.

ill" in their midst were healed.¹

Elsewhere in his epistles Paul refers to his own gift of working miracles. These references, however, are not numerous.² Mention is made of the working of miracles in the Galatian churches (Gal. 3:5). Perhaps the reference is to the miracles which Paul performed among them,³ although doubtless we may infer that others had been performed by the Galatians themselves after Paul's departure.⁴

If the specific references to miracle-working in Paul's epistles are not numerous, the reverse is true in Acts. Here miracles are prominently associated with the activity of the apostles in Jerusalem and elsewhere during the early days of the church.⁵ Here also more detail is supplied with regard to Paul's exercise of the gift in his missionary work.⁶ But the gift was not confined to apostles. Men such as Stephen (Acts 6:8) and Philip (Acts 8:5f., 13) also performed miracles. Indeed, it is largely from the book of Acts that the impression is derived that the early church "seems to have moved in a cloud of wonders."⁷ Without

¹ Cf. I Cor. 11:30. These cases may have been regarded as instances of penal suffering; cf. J. Weiss, MK, ad. loco.; Calvin, CC, ad. loco. Paul who seems to have possessed the gift of healing (cf. Acts 14:8ff.; 28:8) apparently did not heal all of his ill friends; cf. Phil. 2:26; II Tim. 4:20.

² Cf. Rom. 15:19; II Cor. 12:12. In the latter case Paul reluctantly alludes to his miracles under the pressure of self-defense.

³ E.g. Acts 14:8ff. on the assumption of the South Galatian destination of the epistle.

⁴ Duncan, MNTC, ad. loco.; cf. Burton, ICC, ad. loco. who stressing the significance of οἱ ματ would restrict the reference entirely to the Galatians.

⁵ Acts 2:43; 3:1ff.; 5:12, 15ff.; 9:32ff., 36ff.

⁶ Acts 14:8ff.; 15:12 (which includes also a reference to Barnabas); 16:16ff.; 19:11f.; 28:8.

⁷ Williams, The Descent of the Dove, p. 10.

adopting a non-critical attitude toward all of the details in the various miracle accounts, there is no valid reason to discount this feature in Luke's representation of the life of the early church.¹

Apart from the evidence of Paul's epistles and Acts, there is a reference to the gift of miracle-working powers in Heb. 2:4.² It is not entirely clear whether the reference is to miracles which were performed in the past by apostles or first generation Christians or, as is more probable, were current phenomena in the circle to which the author and readers belonged.³ In any case, the passage is of "deep interest in showing the unquestioned reality of miraculous gifts in the early church."⁴

Another passage which provides further evidence that healing by divine intervention was familiar to the apostolic church is James 5:14ff. This passage seems to reflect a Palestinian background and associates healing with the intercessory ministry of Christian elders.

Perhaps attention may also be called to certain indirect evidence for miracles which is found in the occasional references to spurious signs and wonders. Such allusions probably reflect some acquaintance with genuine miracles in the various Christian communities concerned.⁵

¹ Supra p. 83.

² Cf. Heb. 6:5 where the ambiguous phrase, *δυνάμεις τε μέλλοντες αἰῶνος* should be interpreted by reference to the phenomena described in Heb. 2:4; vid. Michel, MK, ad. loco.

³ Scholars who favor a reference to miracles in the past are T. H. Robinson, MNTC, ad. loco.; Goguel, The Birth of Christianity, p. 265. But Westcott, Hebrews, ad. loco. and Strathmann, NTD, IX, ad. loco., prefer a contemporary reference. Indeed, the latter scholar regards it as unthinkable that the author would have expressed himself as he did if such experiences had not been richly at hand.

⁴ Westcott, Hebrews, ad. loco.

⁵ E.g. 11 Thess. 2:2; Rev. 13:13f.; 16:14; 19:20; Mk. 13:22 (cf. Matt. 24:24) and Matt. 7:22.

In light of the foregoing evidence there is no reason to doubt that gifts of miraculous powers were widely known in the life of the apostolic church.¹

III. MIRACLE-WORKING AS A ΧΑΡΙΣΜΑ

Paul regarded miracle-working abilities as *χαρίσματα*. This is not difficult to understand in view of the fact that it was customary in the ancient world to attribute the unusual to the agency of the Spirit. To the early church "the Spirit was by definition miraculous."² Spirit and power were correlative terms.³

The gift character of these abilities is clearly accented not only in I Cor. 12, but elsewhere also in the epistles where they come into view. It was not the Galatians themselves but Another who worked miracles in their midst.⁴ Paul's reference to the working of miracles, "the signs of a true apostle" which he performed among the Corinthians, is set in a context which stresses his own human weakness as the medium for the manifestation of the power of Christ.⁵ Likewise, in writing to the Romans he says, "I will not venture to speak of anything except what Christ has wrought through me . . . by word and deed, by the power of signs and wonders, by the power of the Holy Spirit"⁶

¹ For references to healing (including exorcism) in the literature of sub-apostolic period *vid.* J. Martyr, *Dial. Trypho* XXX; XXXIX; LXXVI; *Apology* II, 6; Irenaeus, *Adv. Her.* II, 31.2; II, 32.4f.; cf. E. Frost, *Christian Healing*, pp. 64ff.

² Schlatter, *The Church in the New Testament Period*, p. 18.

³ Cf. *supra* pp. 82ff.

⁴ Gal. 3:5.

⁵ II Cor. 12:5-12.

⁶ Rom. 15:18f.

This same emphasis is found also in Heb. 2:4 where God is said to have attested the proclamation of the gospel by the working of "signs and wonders and various miracles." In Acts the ability to work miracles is consistently regarded as a derived power. It was done "in the name of Jesus,"¹ and, at least in certain instances, only after prayer was made.² There was no attempt on the part of those who performed the miracles to direct attention to themselves. Indeed, such interest was promptly discouraged.³ The Christ who healed men during the days of His flesh was now continuing to exercise His power in the midst of the Christian community.⁴

But miracle-working abilities were regarded as *χαρίσματα* not only because they were gifts granted to various Christians in the church. They possessed service utility in building up the Christian community. Attention has already been called to the sign character of miracles. Just as the miracles of Jesus were signs of the inbreaking of the kingdom of God, so the miracles in the apostolic period bore witness to the establishment and extension of that kingdom in the church.⁵ The apologetic value of miracles both in the missionary outreach of the gospel and in strengthening the faith of believers in the Christian community would justify the

¹ Acts 3:6 (cf. v. 16; 4:1); 9:34; 16:18.

² Acts 9:40; 28:7.

³ Acts 3:12; 14:14f.

⁴ Acts 9:34.

⁵ This is not to identify completely the kingdom which Jesus proclaimed and the church. On this problem vid. G. Lindeskog, "The Kingdom of God and the Church in the New Testament," This Is the Church, ed. by A. Nygren, pp. 136-147; and O. Cullmann, "The Kingship of Christ and the Church in the New Testament," The Early Church, chap. V.

inclusion of the ability to work miracles among the charismatic gifts of the Spirit to the church.¹ It is not without a measure of truth that Thomas Aquinas could speak of miracles as "the winged sandals and the staff of the messengers" of the gospel.²

The miracles of the early church, however, were not merely an instrument of attestation by which the gospel was commended to the faith of men. They were, as already noted, part of the gospel itself. As such, they were far removed from the category of mere display wonders.³ Neither were they performed out of considerations of personal interest. In them that which Jesus "began to do" while He was among men was being continued. They were seen as events in which the heilsgeschichtliche purpose of God was being realized in history. In the church as the eschatological community, the powers of the new age were dynamically at work throwing back the forces of darkness and giving promise of their ultimate defeat.

It is significant that the miracles for which specific description is supplied belong almost entirely to the sphere of healing in the inclusive sense of the term.⁴ The New Testament clearly indicates that Christ's victory over death also involved in principle the vanquishing of death for

¹ For the significance of miracles in the missionary outreach of the church see Acts 3:2-4:4; 8:7f.; 9:34f., 37-42; 14:3f.; Rom. 15:18f.; Heb. 2:4. Cf. Harnack, Mission and Expansion of Christianity, I, pp. 101-124; S. Angus, The Religious Quests of the Graeco-Roman World, chap. XXII; A. Richardson, The Miracle-Stories of the Gospels, pp. 67f.

² Cited by J. R. Pridie, op. cit., p. 55.

³ For a comparative study of the miracles of the Bible and those of the Graeco-Roman world, vid. Grundmann, TWNT, II, p. 303, and the reply of R. M. Grant, op. cit., pp. 172ff., who points out that the miracles of the New Testament are distinguished primarily by their unique religious context and interpretation.

⁴ The exceptions are judgment-miracles (Acts 13:10 and possibly Acts 5:1-10). Perhaps these, as the healing miracles, are best understood when seen as related to the establishment of the eschatological community.

all who belong to the Messianic community.¹ In the case of both Christ and His people, this triumph is intimately associated with the Spirit. Paul affirms, "If the Spirit of him who raised Jesus from the dead dwells in you, he who raised Christ Jesus from the dead will give life to your mortal bodies also through his Spirit which dwells in you."² Where the Spirit was at work death could no longer reign for the Spirit is creative and life-giving.³ Nevertheless death was not yet completely destroyed. It was within the paradox of the "already" and the "not yet" in which the early church lived that the healing miracles are to be understood. Although death had not yet been annihilated, the corporal aspect of the Christian community did not remain completely untouched by the life-giving power of the Spirit. The healing miracles were manifestations of the Spirit at work proleptically seeking to bestow incorruptibility upon the human body. Every healing made a fresh breach in the domain of death. Thus in a deeply significant way, the ability to heal was a *χάρισμα*. In the temporary throwbacks of the power of death over the body may be seen glimpses of the Spirit's effort to establish the community of the eschaton in its ultimate completeness.⁴

¹ Cf. I Cor. 15:12ff.

² Rom. 8:11.

³ The creative role of the Spirit is emphasized in Gen. 1:2; Psal. 33:6; 104:30; Job 27:3; 32:8; 33:4; Ezek. 37:1-14 and the birth narratives of the Gospels; cf. Barrett, The Holy Spirit and the Gospel Tradition, chap. I.

⁴ The eschatological significance of the healing miracles is worked out by Cullmann, "The Proleptic Deliverance of the Body according to the New Testament," op. cit., chap. VII; and also in his book, Christ and Time, pp. 76, 141ff., 236f.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ΧΑΡΙΣΜΑΤΑ OF PRACTICAL SERVICE AND LEADERSHIP

In addition to the obviously important gifts of the Word and the spectacular gifts of miracle-working and ecstatic utterance, Paul regarded certain rather ordinary abilities designed to meet particular practical needs in the daily life of the Christian community as **χαρίσματα**. Six terms constitute the cluster of gifts which may be called practical service and leadership **χαρίσματα**. They are as follows: (1) **διακονία**; (2) **μεταδιδόναι**; (3) **ἐλεεῖν**; (4) **ἀντιλήψεις**; (5) **προϊστάναι**; (6) **κυβερνήσεις**.¹

Within this group the first four are very closely related; the last one seems to represent a somewhat different concept; and the fifth may be understood as belonging either to the first group or to the last in the series.

I. THE NATURE OF THE GIFTS

The gift of **διακονία** (Rom. 12:7). Although mentioned in only one of the four Pauline lists of gifts, **διακονεῖν** is employed in I Pet. 4:11 as an inclusive category to designate various forms of service which contribute to the building up of the Christian community other than those which have to do with the ministry of the Word.² The precise meaning of **διακονία** in Rom. 12:7 is not easy to ascertain in view of the fact that in the same list such terms as **μεταδιδόναι**, **προϊστάναι**, and **ἐλεεῖν** occur. The manner in which the gifts are listed in Rom.

¹ Where articular participial constructions occur in the Greek text, the infinitive forms are given for brevity.

² Vid. supra p. 47.

12:6b ff. would suggest that a special emphasis falls upon the gifts of prophecy and service.¹ It is possible, therefore, that *μεταδιδόναι*, *προϊστάναι* and *ἐλεεῖν* may be regarded as specific examples of the generic category designated as *διακονία*.

The word is used in a variety of ways in the New Testament.² It may designate the service necessary for the preparation of a meal (Lk. 10:40) or the distribution of charity (Acts 6:1). The ministry of apostleship is frequently called a *διακονία*.³ Timothy's commission as an evangelist (II Tim. 4:5), Mark's potential contribution as an assistant to Paul (II Tim. 4:11), and the role to which Archippus was called by the Lord (Col. 4:17) are called a *διακονία*. The collection for the church in Jerusalem is called a *διακονία* by Paul.⁴ It is also used to describe all the *χαρίσματα* (I Cor. 12:5) and the larger purpose their exercise in the church achieves in the equipment of the total body for service (Eph. 4:11f.). In I Cor. 16:15 and Rev. 2:19 the word probably covers any ministry of love practiced within the community. O. Michel suggests that in Rom. 12:7 *διακονία* is related either to general service inside the community (Rom. 16:1; I Cor. 16:15) or to the care of particular needs of various members in the community (e.g. Acts 6:1f.; Rom. 15:25-30; II Cor. 3:4).⁵ Sanday and Headlam see in it the administration of alms and attendance to bodily need.⁶ Cremer regards the term in this

¹ Cf. Michel, *MK*, *ad. loco*.

² Cf. Beyer, *TWNT*, II, pp. 87f.

³ Rom. 11:13; II Cor. 4:1; 6:3f.; 11:8; Acts 1:17, 25; 20:24.

⁴ Rom. 15:30f., II Cor. 3:1-6; 9:1, 12f.; cf. also Acts 11:29f.; 12:25.

⁵ *MK*, *ad. loco*.

⁶ *ICC*, *ad. loco*.

passage as including all types of service.¹ Beyer suggests that the ἀντιλήψεις, or deeds of helping care in the interest of the community (I Cor. 12:28), constitute the content of the ministry in view here.² Grau would see in διακονία a reference to those services which are dictated by the needs of the community with perhaps special reference to the poor and the ill.³

In light of this survey of usage and opinions, it would seem best to regard διακονία in Rom. 12:7 as referring to a general ministry to the physical needs of the members of the Christian community. It is unwise to attempt to delimit the service too strictly as having to do only with almsgiving; neither is it likely that it includes such ministries as prophecy, teaching, and exhortation which are explicitly mentioned in the list.

The gift of μεταδιδόναι (Rom. 12:8). If διακονία describes a general ministry to the physical needs of the community, the gift of μεταδιδόναι would seem to point more specifically to the giving of material aid to those who may have need. Calvin regards the term as referring to the dispensing of the public charities of the church.⁴ Sanday and Headlam and others more correctly see here the sharing of personal possessions.⁵ The ability of a man to part with his personal property in

¹ Biblico-Theological Lexicon, s.v.

² TWNT, II, p. 87.

³ Op. cit., pp. 228f.

⁴ CC, ad. loco.

⁵ ICC, ad. loco.; cf. Michel, MK, ad. loco.; Denney, EGT, II, ad. loco.

order to help another who may have need and to do so with liberality and simplicity (i. e. without ulterior motive)¹ is considered by Paul to be an ability given by the Spirit.

The gift of ἐλεεῖν (Rom. 12:8). It is possible that the phrase ὁ ἐλεῶν echoes the expression ποιεῖν ἐλεημοσύνη in Matt. 6:3. This could suggest that the giving of alms or charity is primarily in view in this passage. If so, then it is difficult to distinguish this gift from the one just considered. Possibly the suggestion of Bultmann that ἐλεεῖν may have a wider reference here to kindness in general points the way to its proper understanding in this context.² Grau regards this χάρισμα as having to do especially with those who suffer and are in particular need of fellowship and encouragement.³ In any event, the ability to show kindness with a spirit of brightness and good cheer to those in need is regarded as a gift of the Spirit, building up as it does the inner life of the church.

The gift of ἀντιλήψεις⁴ (I Cor. 12:28). This is another general term covering a variety of ministries to members of the Christian community. It is impossible to restrict the service here in view to any particular group of needy folk. Rather it covers any ministry to those in distress

¹ ἀπλότης (Rom. 12:8) may mean either liberality or sincerity. Although the latter may be primarily in view, the former is not necessarily excluded; cf. Denney, ibid.

² TWNT, II, p. 749; cf. also Denney, EGT, II, ad. loco.

³ Op. cit., p. 231.

⁴ An alternate spelling is ἀντιλήψεις.

whether they are the poor, sick, widows, orphans, strangers or travelers.¹ The plural form may designate either individual acts of help or various types of helpful service. The general character of this gift would suggest that it is equivalent to the gift of *διακονία* mentioned in Rom. 12:7.

The gift of *προϊστάνα* (Rom. 12:8). It is not easy to determine the reference intended by this term. Usage elsewhere indicates that *προϊστάνα* may mean either (1) to be at the head of, rule or direct;² or (2) to be concerned about, care for, give aid.³ Michel is inclined to favour the second meaning in light of the insertion of *προϊστάνα* between *μεταδιδόναι* and *ἐλεεῖν* in Rom. 12:8. He would understand it as referring to one who is a patron for the unprotected in the community (i. e. the widow, orphan, slave, stranger).⁴ Calvin takes it in the sense of rule and sees a reference here to the elders who preside over

¹ Cf. Robertson and Plummer, *ICC*, ad. loco.; and G. Delling, *ThNT*, I, p. 376: "Es handelt sich offenbar um Liebestätigkeit im Auftrag der Gemeinde." Gunkel, *op. cit.*, p. 25, sees in the Macedonian collection for the church in Jerusalem an example of *ἀντιλήψις*; cf. also Acts 6:1ff.; 20:35. Weiss, *MK*, on I Cor. 12:28 would include under this term the pastoral care of the spiritually weak, e.g. Gal. 6:1.

² Amos 6:10; I Macc. 5:19; I Tim. 3:4f.; I Thess. 5:12 (?); *Hermas*, *Vis* 2.4.3.

³ Demosth. 4, 46, Epict. 3, 24, 3; P. Fay. 13, 5; P. Tebt 325, 11; E.G.U. 1105, 6; Dognet. 5:3; I Thess. 5:12 (?). Vid. additional references in Arndt and Gingrich, *op. cit.*, s.v., and Moulton and Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, s.v.

⁴ *MK*, ad. loco. Cf. Lauterburg, *op. cit.*, p. 16, who, following Bengel, understands *προϊστάνα* in the sense of "alios curare et in clientela habere."

the church and exercise discipline.¹ No certain clue to its meaning can be gathered from Rom. 12:8.

In I Thess. 5:12 *προϊστάναι* is associated with *κοινῶν* and *νοουθετεῖν* in such a way as to suggest that the same persons are in view under various names. The persons so designated are to be respected by their fellow-Christians on the basis of their service in behalf of the community (v. 13).¹ That no clerical order distinct from the laity is in mind is clear from v. 14 where the whole community (not a restricted official group) is enjoined to do what more properly might be called the duties of the clergy--to admonish, encourage and help.² In I Tim. 5:17 *προϊστάναι* refers more explicitly to presbyters who exercise oversight in the Christian community. H. Greeven argues that in I Thess. 5:12 prophets and teachers actually are meant but that Paul on occasion uses such terms as *προϊστάμενοι* and *κυβερνήσεις* because not all prophets and teachers were leaders or administrators. Greeven, however, regards it as improbable that any but prophets and teachers were leaders in the community.³ There can be no doubt that a close relationship existed between service rendered to the community and the gradual recognition of such folks as leaders in the community. Thus it seems best to find in the term *προϊστάναι* a coalescence of genuine concern for the welfare of the community expressed in unselfish service and some form of actual leadership in the life of the community.

¹ CC, ad. loco. Sanday and Headlam, ICC, ad. loco.; Kirk, CBS, ad. loco.; and Barrett, BNTC, ad. loco., also prefer the sense of administrator. Lietzmann, PNT, ad. loco., regards it probable that a community office is in view.

² Cf. Neil, MNTC, ad. loco.; Campenhausen, op. cit., p. 70.

³ Op. cit., pp. 31ff.

The gift of κυβερνήσεις (I Cor. 12:28). This term definitely looks in the direction of administration. But care must be exercised not to read into it the later formal conception of administration which developed with the growth of church organization. The nature of the administration in view is not specified.¹ While the term may be equivalent to ἐπίσκοποι and πρεσβύτεροι, it must be remembered "that we are here dealing with gifts rather than with the offices which grew out of the gifts."² The close association of ἀντιλήψεις with κυβερνήσεις in this passage may also suggest that the emphasis in the latter probably falls on a ministry of helpfulness to the community rather than on formal status or official duties of administration.

The gift of ποιμένες (Eph. 4:11). Among the gifts of the ascended Lord to His church were pastors. There can be no doubt that in this term the local leadership of the Christian community is in view. It is not clear, however, what precisely was the sphere in which they functioned and their relation to the teachers with whom they were closely associated. The inclusion of the two substantives under one article (τοὺς δὲ ποιμένας καὶ διδασκάλους) may be interpreted to mean either (1) that the same persons exercised two functions, namely, general leadership and teaching,³ or (2) that different persons are

¹ Cf. Beyer, TWNT, III, pp. 1035f.; he would find a rough equation between the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι of Phil. 1:1, the προϊστάμενοι of Rom. 12:8, and the κυβερνήσεις, of this passage. Grau, op. cit., pp. 231f. would regard κυβερνήσεις as concerned with the more outward aspects of the community's life. But vid. Greeven, loc. cit. The plural form may designate various types of service or plural manifestations of the gift in the community.

² Robertson and Plummer, ICC, ad. loco.

³ Cf. J. A. Robinson, Eph., ad. loco.; Lauterburg, op. cit., p. 62; and Michaelis, op. cit., pp. 53f.

in view who together were responsible for the direction of the community's life.¹ Since the local leadership is in mind, it is likely that the **ποιμένες** may not have been unrelated to the **πρεσβύτεροι** and **ἐπίσκοποι**.² Such leaders probably both taught and also governed (Acts 20:21, 28; cf. I Tim. 3:2; Tit. 1:9). The teachers then may have been distinguished from the **ποιμένες** as those who exercised only a didactic ministry. On the other hand, perhaps a similar situation is reflected in this passage as in I Tim. 5:17 where the elders who ruled appear to be distinguished from those who in addition also engaged in preaching and in teaching.³ In any case, the **ποιμένες** would seem to have been persons who provided leadership in the community beyond that of exercising a mere teaching function.

II. SERVICE AND LEADERSHIP ABILITIES AS **ΧΑΡΙΣΜΑΤΑ**

The cluster of abilities under review cannot lay claim to being **χαρίσματα** because of any dramatic or sensational character. They do not exhibit in any striking way the working of the Spirit. It should not be forgotten, however, that already in the Old Testament the Spirit was associated with certain manual and leadership skills which had community significance.⁴ It is only natural in view of the New Testament understanding

¹ Dibelius, INT, ad. loco.; Cremer, Biblico-Theological Lexicon, p. 841; Abbott, ICC, ad. loco.; and Harnack, The Mission and Expansion of Christianity, I, p. 338, also incline toward this view.

² Cf. Acts 20:28; and also Flew, op. cit., p. 142.

³ On I Tim. 5:17 vid. J. Jeremias, NTD, IX, ad. loco.; but cf. B. S. Easton, The Pastoral Epistles, ad. loco. and E. K. Simpson, The Pastoral Epistles, ad. loco.

⁴ For skill as an artisan vid. Ex. 31:3ff. (cf. 28:3); 35:31ff.; cf. Philo, De Gigant. 5, 6; Quaest. I, 90. For leadership skill vid. Num. 11:17; 27:13f.; Deut. 34:9; Judges 3:10.

of the Spirit as the presupposition of the whole of the Christian life that such and similar, albeit rather ordinary, abilities should be seen in relation to the Spirit. Beyond this general consideration, however, the distinctive charismatic character of these abilities resides in their serviceableness for building up the life of the Christian community.¹ No less than the *χαρίσματα* of the Word or those of unusual deeds, these services contributed to the fullness of the church's life.

If the New Testament conception of the church as the body of Christ has about it a certain supra-historical dimension, it also embodies a genuine historical emphasis. The Christian community was not a fellowship of disembodied spirits but a society of flesh and blood whose corporate life was beset by the ordinary practical problems and needs of human existence. The church, like its antecedent, the Hebrew-Judaic community, refused to sunder spirit and body but was concerned with the total life of the whole man. Consequently those services which supplied the daily mundane needs of the community contributed in a significant way to the building up of the church. Such service abilities, therefore, were seen as *χαρίσματα*.

¹ Büchsel, op. cit., p. 356.

PART IV

ΧΑΡΙΣΜΑ AND OFFICE IN THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH

INTRODUCTION

In the preceding pages attention has been given both to the understanding of the New Testament concept of **χάρισμα** and to the varied charismatic phenomena which characterized the life of the early church. The **χαρίσματα** have been seen to be divinely given service abilities which were bestowed upon various members of the Christian community in order that they might minister to the needs of its corporate life. In light of the nature and the rich manifestation of these gifts, the question naturally is raised: what relationship did the **χαρίσματα** sustain to the pattern of the church's ministry which emerged in the apostolic age? To this problem brief consideration must now be given.¹

As a salutary caution against undue optimism regarding the possible results of such an investigation, it should not be forgotten that any inquiry into the field of the development of the early church's ministry is constantly harassed by three difficulties: (1) There is the paucity of data. No New Testament document reveals any keen interest on the part of the author in the problem of church polity. Of more concern to Paul was the strengthening of the church's faith and spiritual life. Similarly, Luke, the historian of the early church, was more intent on describ-

¹ Obviously in the scope of this study no attempt can be made to provide a full historical treatment of the development of the ministry in the early church. For a review of the varied reconstructions of this development which have been proposed by modern scholars, attention may be called among others to the excellent survey of O. Linton, Das Problem der Urkirche (1932) and to the briefer and more recent essay by S. E. Johnson, "The Emergence of the Christian Church in the Pre-Catholic Period," The Study of the Bible Today and Tomorrow, ed. by H. R. Willoughby (1947), pp. 345-365.

ing the missionary outreach of the church than its organization. This means that on many points of interest to the modern student, the records are either silent or the data is too slight to establish firm conclusions.

(2) The terminology employed to designate the ministry in the early church is popular and fluid. Such terms as *διάκονος*, *πρεσβύτερος* and *ἐπίσκοπος* which later came to denote fixed offices in the church have both a general and a technical usage in the New Testament. It is not always easy to determine in which sense they are employed in a given passage. Furthermore, difference in terminology may not necessarily indicate real differentiation in ministry.¹ (3) Although the student is genuinely grateful for the fragmentary source material available, it is frequently difficult, if not impossible, to determine how representative it is. Does it describe the situation only in the area with which it is explicitly associated or does it apply more generally to the church of that period? In light of B. H. Streeter's strong advocacy of the thesis of local diversity in the organization of the early church in the first century,² it is precarious to generalize too freely on the basis of particular local references.

Real as these limitations are, they should not obscure the essential validity of an attempt to understand the emerging ministry in the early

¹ Vid. the evidence cited by Schweizer, *Das Leben des Herrn*, p. 109, n. 9. Michaelis, *Das Alte Testament*, has recently argued that "elders" are to be seen among other places in the *ποιμένες* and *διδάσκαλοι* of Eph. 4:11 (pp. 53f.); in the *ἐπιστάμενος* of Rom. 12:8; in the *κυβερνήτης* of I Cor. 12:28 (pp. 55f.); and in the *οἱ ἡγούμενοι* of Heb. 13:7, 17, 24 (pp. 123ff.). If he may have "outrun his scent," he has, nevertheless, pointed up a genuine difficulty.

² Vid. especially his book, *The Primitive Church*. The position championed by Streeter has been widely accepted by New Testament scholars; cf. W. D. Davies, *A Normative Pattern of Church Life in the New Testament*, pp. 11ff.

church through the window of the $\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$. Modern research has underscored the necessity of approaching the problem of the early church's ministry via the self-consciousness of the church¹ rather than by a comparison with other types of religio-sociological communities in the Graeco-Roman world as Hatch² and Harnack³ did. The early church's understanding and experience of $\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$ thus provide a solid base for a fruitful inquiry into the earliest forms of the ministry in the early church.

I. THE MEANING OF OFFICE

The term office when employed in relation to the early church's ministry requires careful definition. It should be said at once that the temptation to import a modern conception of ecclesiastical office into the New Testament must be firmly resisted.⁴ An examination of the Biblical data would seem to warrant the conclusion of Schweizer when he writes:

'Amt' im Sinne einer festen, gegebenen Institution mit immer gleich bleibenden, genau umschriebenen Pflichten und Rechten, die ganz abgesehen von dem jeweiligen Amtsinhaber einfach zum Amt gehören, das gibt es also nicht im N. T.⁵

¹ Among the many examples which could be cited the following are typical: O. Linton, "Church and Office in the New Testament," This Is the Church, pp. 100-135; F. Gerke, "The Origin of the Christian Ministry," The Ministry and the Sacraments, ed. by R. Dunkerley, pp. 343-367; Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, II, chap. V; Schweizer, Das Leben des Herrn. This modern approach owes much to the classic work of R. Sohm, Kirchenrecht, I, whose influence is strongly reflected in such English works as W. Lowrie, The Church and Its Organization, J. V. Bartlett, Church-Life and Church-Order, and in many German studies.

² The Organization of the Early Christian Churches.

³ The Constitution and Law of the Church.

⁴ For such a definition vid. Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche, V, col. 963 where ecclesiastical office in the strict sense is defined as "ein durch göttliche Anordnung oder durch kirchliche Gesetzgebung dauernd eingerichtetes, nach Massgabe des kirchlichen Reichtes zu besetzendes Amt, das wenigstens eine gewisse Anteilnahme an der kirchlichen Gewalt . . . mit sich bringt" (underscoring supplied).

⁵ Das Leben des Herrn, p. 119.

Certain community services, of course, were necessary from the very beginning in each local church. Some of these were supplied by free spontaneous ministries. In other instances, apparently from very early times, persons were appointed to discharge certain functions in the community. Where such appointments occurred, office in a very rudimentary form may be said to have existed. The question may be raised, however, whether the term office should be applied to any of the various spontaneous ministries in the early church.

Sohn understood office as that ministry to which a person was called by God through the *Χάρισμα* which had been given to him.¹ Human appointment was not essential to office. Similarly, Schweizer finds the essence of office in "geordnetes Dienen"² which may be rendered with or without formal community authorization. Grau regards commission and order as the two essential ingredients of office in the early church.³ The commission, however, need not have been conferred by human agency and office may exist apart from human appointment.

Now, doubtless, such charismatic figures who regularly exercised their gifts in the service either of the local community or more generally, were recognized as filling certain distinct roles in the church. Conceivably, the term office in a certain sense might be associated with such persons. But it would seem best for purposes of clarity in discussion to restrict its use to those functions in the community whose exercise was conditioned

¹ Op. cit., I, p. 26.

² Das Leben des Herrn, p. 111. He follows Spörri, "Der neutestamentliche Amtsbegriff," Der Grundriss (1942), pp. 263-267. On the whole, Schweizer thinks it may be best to avoid the use of the term office in relation to the New Testament ministry.

³ Op. cit., p. 234: "Auftrag und Ordnung sind die konstitutiven Momente des urchristlichen Amtes."

by more or less formal human appointment.¹ It is in this sense, albeit rather arbitrarily determined, that office will be employed here. It should not be forgotten that when the term is used, no sharp distinction between clergy and laity is to be understood. The emphasis is not on status but function. Differentiations of functions in the early church did not involve gradations of office or rank in the later juridical sense. At the core of the New Testament understanding of the ministry is the note of service. This is evident in the choice of *διακονία* as "the most favored way of referring inclusively to the church's workers and their work."² And this conception of the ministry in the early church was derived from Jesus' own understanding of His mission and in His insistence that true greatness in the kingdom is to be found in service.³

II. THE RELATION OF *ΧΑΡΙΣΜΑ* TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF OFFICE

Harnack's familiar but unfortunate choice of the terms "charismatic" and "official" to designate two distinct types of ministry in the early church has been the source of much "mischievous confusion."⁴ No one,

¹ So Lauterburg, *op. cit.*, p. 52; cf. also Brandt, *Dienst und Dienen im Neuen Testament*, p. 156.

² J. Knox, "The Ministry in the Primitive Church," *op. cit.*, p. 1; cf. Linton, "Church and Office in the New Testament," *op. cit.*, p. 116. It is surely significant that apart from Rom. 15:16 and Phil. 2:17 the New Testament consistently avoids associating *λειτουργία* (which both in the LXX and in profane Greek usage carried an "official" connotation) with the Christian ministry; cf. Schweizer, *Das Leben des Herrn*, pp. 19ff.; also *NTWT*, IV, pp. 221-236.

³ Mk. 10:35-45, and // Matt. 20:20-28; Lk. 22:24-27. Cf. G.W.H. Lampe, *Some Aspects of the New Testament Ministry*, pp. 3ff.

⁴ The phrase is that of J. A. Robinson, "The Christian Ministry in the Apostolic and Sub-Apostolic Periods," *op. cit.*, p. 75. For a presentation of Harnack's theory see his book, *The Constitution and Law of the Church*.

of course, would deny that certain persons exercised a ministry on the basis of divinely given gifts without formal appointment, while others were elected or appointed to special services. But Harnack's terminology tended to suggest that only the spontaneous and universal, not the local appointed ministry, possessed charismatic endowment.¹ Such a notion lacks New Testament support. Office and *χάρισμα*, although not identical, are neither independent, parallel, nor mutually exclusive terms.² In light of the range of gifts included in the various catalogues of *χαρίσματα*, it is wholly inconceivable that Paul, for example, would have thought of the bishops and deacons of the Philippian church (1:1) as able to fulfill their functions without appropriate *χαρίσματα*.³ Indeed, in a certain sense all ministries in the primitive church were charismatic. Office, therefore, must be seen as having taken form in close conjunction with *χάρισμα*.

Neither the literary sources nor historical probability would warrant the assumption that the various early Christian communities were fully organized from the beginning of their existence. The eschatological orientation of the early church would have made preoccupation with the task of elaborate organization very unlikely. Nevertheless, no movement can long continue either to exist or to perpetuate itself in history without a

¹ It may be doubted that this is what Harnack really meant; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 24, 26.

² Cf. O. Michel, "Gnadengabe und Amt," *Deutsche Theologie* (1942), p. 135: "Auftrag, Vollmacht, Charisma und Amt sind im Urchristentum keine Gegensätze" (cited by P. Menoud, *op. cit.*, p. 36, n. 6). Cf. also Linton, *Das Problem der Urkirche*, pp. 103f., 206ff.; Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, II, pp. 97ff.

³ Cf. Lietzmann, "Zur altchristlichen Verfassungsgeschichte," *ZNT*, LV (1913/14), p. 109, who remarks that *ἀντιλήψεις* and *κυβερνήσεις* are for Paul nothing other than names for the activity of *διάκονοι* and *ἐπίσκοποι*.

measure of organization. The development of organization was neither artificially imposed nor stereotyped in form; it was the response of a living group to felt needs.¹

The epistles of Paul provide considerable insight into the range, place, and contribution of the spontaneous ministries in the life of the various Gentile Christian communities. There is no need to review again all the data examined elsewhere in this study. Particular attention, however, may be called to two passages which vividly reflect such ministries in the local communities of Corinth and Thessalonica. The first of these is I Cor. 16:15f.:

Now, brethren, you know that the household of Stephanas were the first converts in Achaia, and they have devoted themselves (ἑταξαν ἑαυτούς) to the service of the saints; I urge you to be subject to such men and to every fellow worker and laborer.²

¹ When office emerged, there were patterns available in the contemporary Jewish and Graeco-Roman cultures to provide suggestive forms. (For Jewish influence, vid. T. G. Jalland, The Origin and Evolution of the Christian Church, chaps. I-V; S. E. Johnson, "The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline and the Jerusalem Church of Acts," The Scrolls and the New Testament, pp. 129-142; Bo Reicke, "The Constitution of the Primitive Church in the Light of Jewish Documents," ibid., pp. 143-156. For Graeco-Roman influence, vid. Hatch, op. cit., chaps. I-III). But there was no slavish imitation of these forms, for the organization of the early church was under the dynamic control of the Spirit; and "where the Spirit of the Lord is there is freedom" (II Cor. 3:17).

² Unofficial free-will service is in view here. (Cf. J. Weiss, MK, ad. loco.; and Robertson and Plummer, ICC, ad. loco.; but vid. Lindsay, op. cit., p. 150). Koester, Die Idee der Kirche, p. 12, would see in this passage a reference to the supervision of the public worship. If so, they would be expected to carry out the instructions found in I Cor. 14 relative to order in the worship service. Michaelis, Das Alttestament, pp. 140-143, however, would assign this function to the elders whom he thinks are referred to under the term κυβερνήσεις (I Cor. 12:28), pp. 55f., 62. Lietzmann, The Beginnings of the Christian Church, p. 143, on the other hand, maintains that the prophets were in charge of the worship services in the local churches. Probably more general service including the care of the poor and the ill is in view. It should be noted that the service referred to in this passage is a family affair which means possibly that the women of the house also shared in this ministry. Associated with the household of Stephanas were other fellow-workers and laborers for whom similar recognition and respect are enjoined. The appeal for subjection to these persons is based upon the service which they have given to the community rather than upon office.

The second passage is I Thess. 5:12f.:

But we beseech you, brethren, to respect those who labor among you and are over you in the Lord and admonish you, and to esteem them very highly in love because of their work.¹

It is only to be expected that such persons, who in light of their gifts and on the basis of an inner motivation gave themselves freely in service to the community, would normally have won for themselves a position of influence and leadership. When as the result of the growth and development of the community more formal organization became desirable, it is only natural to suppose that the service roles of such persons were given official sanction.²

If this reconstruction of developments is valid, the free exercise of charismatic gifts may frequently have issued in office. This does not mean that all *χαρίσματα* had such a history. Some gifts may have been attached to certain individuals only in a rather loose way and practiced rather spasmodically in response to particular momentary needs.³ Others were constant and became the basis for continuing ministries in the

¹ Various constructions have been placed upon this passage. It is best, with most scholars, to regard the three terms: *τοὺς κοινῶντες . . . καὶ προϊσταμένους . . . καὶ νοθετοῦντας* as referring to one group, although Lietzmann, "Zur altchristlichen Verfassungsgeschichte," *op. cit.*, pp. 109f., would see in the first two terms a reference to deacons and bishops and in the last a reference to prophets and teachers. Michaelis, *Das Alte Testament*, pp. 100ff., on the basis of the use of *προϊστάμενοι* (cf. I Tim. 5:17) sees here a reference to elders probably installed by Paul (cf. Acts 14:23). It is equally possible in view of *νοθετεῖν* to argue that prophets and/or teachers are in view (cf. Camperhausen, *op. cit.*, pp. 69f.). Probably no official status is in view, but rather a spontaneous service performed out of inner constraint; cf. Dibelius, *HNT*, ad. loco.). In any case, respect is enjoined upon the community for these folks on the ground of the service which they have rendered rather than official status if indeed they possessed such.

² Cf. Bartlett, *Church-Life and Church-Order*, p. 25.

³ E. g., *μεταδιδόναι*, *πᾶσι*, etc.; cf. Cremer, *RE*, VI, p. 463; also Grau, *op. cit.*, pp. 234f. Perhaps this consideration may account in part for the distinction in enumeration (persons and abilities) in the various lists; cf. *supra* p. 20.

church. Some gifts, such as glossolalia, possessed no significant edificational value for the church and did not develop into an office.¹

Other gifts tended to be subsumed under one or more offices.

The existence of such spontaneous ministries does not exclude the possibility also of an appointed or elected leadership in the local communities. To be sure, very little is said about an official ministry in the epistles of Paul. The most explicit instance is Phil. 1:1 where reference is made to "the bishops and deacons" of the Philippian church.²

Perhaps Phoebe who is described in Rom. 16:1 as a *διάκονον τῆς ἐκκλησίας* at Cenchreae was also an office-bearer, although this is not certain.³ Similarly, "the pastors" of Eph. 4:11 probably were officials.⁴ Perhaps mention should be made also of "the apostles of

¹ Cf. Greeven, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

² That these titles are used here in an official sense is generally held (cf. Beyer, *TWNT*, II, pp. 89f.; 612f.; Lohmeyer, *MK*, *ad. loco.*; but *vid.* Loofs, "Die urchristliche Gemeindeverfassung," *StKr*, LXIII, 1890, pp. 628f.). That two groups are in view rather than one group described from the standpoint of a double function is also generally accepted. The particular mention of "the bishops and deacons" after "all the saints" have already been addressed is explained by Lohmeyer (*MK*, *ad. loco.*) as probably due to the incarceration of these leaders on the assumption that persecution had befallen the church. It is more logical, however, to suppose with most scholars that these officials were especially mentioned because they had to do with the supervision and transmission of the church's gift to Paul (cf. Dibelius, *BNT*, *ad. loco.*; Harnack, *Constitution and Law*, pp. 57f.; Michaelis, *Das Alttestament*, p. 93). It should be observed that there was a plurality both of bishops and deacons in the Philippian church.

³ Campenhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 73, n. 6, and Michaelis, *Das Alttestament*, p. 170, do not regard *διάκονος* as used here in a technical sense. On the contrary, Schweizer, *Das Leben des Herrn*, p. 48, n. 14, and Michel, *MK*, *ad. loco.*, do so understand it. Barrett, *BNTC*, *ad. loco.*, is uncertain. It is not known what service she rendered to the church at Cenchreae. Perhaps she was a woman of some wealth who may have acted as a patron of the small struggling church. She may also have assisted in the baptism of women. Dodd, *MNTC*, *ad. loco.*, summarily remarks: "We may assume that whatever the deacons were at Philippi that Phoebe was at Cenchreae."

⁴ Cf. *supra* pp. 291f.

churches" who, while not local officials, were appointed or elected by local churches for particular missions.¹ The paucity of references to official leadership in these epistles does not necessarily mean that they were relatively unknown in the Pauline churches. The argument from silence is precarious and should not be unduly pressed. Although it would be absurd to attempt to find all the later offices of the church hidden in the charismatic terminology of I Cor. 12 and Rom. 12,² the possibility remains that in some cases officials probably are in view.³ If the evidence of Acts 14:23 is accepted, Paul and Barnabas appointed elders in the various churches established on their first missionary journey.⁴ This policy may also have been followed on subsequent occasions.⁵

It is generally assumed that office first crystallized in the area of practical and administrative services and only subsequently with the lapse of the gifts of the Word were formal arrangements made to meet

¹ II Cor. 8:23 (cf. vv. 18f.); Phil. 2:25.

² For such an absurd attempt, vid. B. Hennen, "Ordines sacri, Ein Deutungsversuch zu I Cor. 12:1-31 and Rom. 12:2-8," Theologische Quartalschrift, CXIX (1938), pp. 427ff., cited by Campenhausen, op. cit., p. 71, n. 3.

³ Supra p. 295; cf. Caird, op. cit., p. 150; Flew, op. cit., p. 142.

⁴ This reference is widely regarded as anachronistic; the grounds for this conclusion, however, appear to be insufficient.

⁵ The problem of the character of the leadership in the Corinthian church is notoriously difficult. Perhaps elders and deacons are obliquely referred to under the "governments" and "helps" of I Cor. 12:28; vid. Michaelis, Das Alte Testament, pp. 55, 62. It is possible also that they had been appointed and for some reason were not functioning; vid. W. L. Knox, op. cit., pp. 280f. Or it may be that Paul in light of the rich charismatic endowment of the Corinthian church was trying a new experiment in church organization; vid. Lowther Clarke, "The Origins of Episcopacy," Episcopacy Ancient and Modern, ed. by C. Jenkins and K. D. Mackenzie, pp. 21, 38. The whole problem is much too obscure to make a final judgment.

this need. Probably in the main this was true, although a protest must be entered against any rigid demarcation of spheres of service in the early church. There is evidence that appointed leaders also exercised a spiritual ministry¹ and conversely it may be assumed that prophets and teachers in some cases were appointed to office. Moreover, there is no need to suppose that office was slow in emerging. "Things move fast in young communities organizing themselves for the first time . . ."2

Michaelis has suggested that in some small communities the essential ministries may not have been provided voluntarily and consequently appointments were made from the very beginning.³ But even where the gifts essential for supplying the corporate needs of the group may have been in evidence and services were voluntarily offered, formal sanctions may early have been recognized as desirable for pragmatic reasons. The multiplicity and complexity of service needs even in a primitive Christian community should not be underestimated. The local Christian group was responsible for supplying all the needs of its members to a degree which we perhaps can scarcely imagine. There were, of course, such regular needs as care for the sick, the poor, the aged, the widows and the orphans. But in addition there were also special or occasional concerns. John Knox has imaginatively recreated the situation which must have existed in many early Christian communities.

¹ E.g. Acts 6:1-6 (cf. 6:8ff.; 8:5ff.); 20:17, 28ff.; I Tim. 5:17; I Pet. 5:1ff.

² Lindsay, op. cit., p. 149.

³ Das Alttestament, pp. 62ff. Beyer, TWNT, III, p. 1036, has suggested that the omission of the questions, "Are all helpers?" "Are all administrators?" in I Cor. 12:29 may indicate that Paul expected each Christian to step in and help supply these practical services if no person particularly gifted in this area was found in the community.

Decisions had to be made from time to time as to where or when services of the church would be held; the church needed to be told of the impending visit of an apostle, or of some prophet or teacher from abroad; a question has been raised as to the good faith of one of these visitors, and there must be some discussion of the point and a decision on it; a fellow Christian from another church is on a journey and needs hospitality; a member of the local congregation planning to visit a church abroad needs a letter of introduction to that church, which someone must be authorized to provide; a serious dispute about property rights or some other legal matter has arisen between two of the brothers and the church must name someone to help them settle the issue or must in some other way deal with it; a new local magistrate has begun to prosecute Christians for violating the law against unlicensed assembly, and consideration must be given to ways and means of meeting the crisis; charges have been brought against one of the members by another member, and these must be investigated and perhaps some disciplinary action taken; one of the members has died, and the church is called on for some special action in behalf of his family in the emergency; differences of opinion exist in the church on certain questions of morals or belief (such as marriage and divorce, or the resurrection), differences which local prophets and teachers are apparently unable to compose, and a letter must be written to the apostle--who will write this letter and what exactly will it say?¹

To put it briefly, it soon became clear that responsible and representative leadership and service was a practical necessity for the smooth functioning of the corporate life of the Christian community. And with the delegation of responsibility for particular functions to certain individuals, office came into existence.

It should not be supposed that when appointment or election to office occurred, it was without reference to spiritual gifts or aptitudes in the persons chosen. Certainly this was not the case in the selection of the Seven where it was expressly stipulated that they were to be men "full of the Spirit and of wisdom" (Acts 6:3). We may reasonably assume that in other instances also there was a correlation between gifts and assignments.² This does not mean that factors other than purely spiritual ones

¹ "The Ministry in the Primitive Church," op. cit., pp. 11f.

² Cf. Schweizer, Das Leben des Herrn, pp. 95ff.; also E. Haupt, op. cit., p. 131: "Wo Amt und Beruf nicht zusammenfallen, da ist in jedem Fall ein unterchristlicher Standpunkt."

exerted no influence such as "the advantage enjoyed in respect of superior social position, education and wealth. Such advantage put certain brethren in a position to exercise a ministry not unlike that of a patron toward his clients."¹ F. V. Filson has called attention to the significance of the house-church pattern for the development of leadership in the apostolic age.² But important as these factors may have been, they must not be allowed to obscure the essential connection between *χάρισμα* and office at least in the early decades of the church's history when the experience of the Spirit was a vivid and dynamic reality.

Thus far, nothing has been said about the relation between *χάρισμα* and office in the Pastorals. The determination of the pattern of church organization which reflected in these letters is tied to the problems of their authorship, date, and integrity. It would appear, however, that a relatively simple and still fluid polity is in view.³ There is a distinction between elders who rule and those who also teach and preach (I Tim. 5:17). In contrast to Phil. 1:1 the term "bishop" here occurs in the singular (I Tim. 3:1f.; Tit. 1:7). It is not clear whether the term designates a supervisor distinct from and superior to the elders or is used generically to describe the eldership in its administrative capacity. In view of the interchange of these terms elsewhere in the New Testament and in early Christian literature, probably the latter is to be preferred.⁴

¹ Bartlett, Church-Life and Church-Order, p. 25.

² "The Significance of the Early House Churches," JBL, LVIII (1939), p. 112.

³ Among other treatments attention may be called to the recent judicious discussion of this problem by Carrington, The Early Church, I, chap. 14.

⁴ Acts 20:17, 28; I Clem. 42:4; 44:1; cf. 44:5; 47:6; cf. Beyer, TWNT, II, p. 614; and Dibelius, HNT on I Tim. 3:5.

Deacons (I Tim. 3:8ff.) and widows (I Tim. 5:9ff.) also are mentioned.¹ The author's particular concern regarding the character of such persons is understandable in view of the usual problems which must have emerged in the Christian communities due to the emotional excitement which accompanied the early missionary preaching and the haste with which many converts were baptized and brought into the church. Under such circumstances the change of heart was not always very profound.

In these epistles *χάρισμα* is brought into special relation to Timothy's call and commission to service. It may be noted that Spirit and office are not opposed to each other. Timothy's consecration to service follows upon a directive from the Spirit through prophetic utterances.² Elsewhere, also, where the qualifications for a bishop are given, certain abilities are included which appear in Paul's catalogues of gifts.³ In the orientation of *χάρισμα* to service the Pastorals agree with an emphasis already observed in Paul. It may be noted too that the service for which it enables is not the miraculous but preaching and teaching (I Tim. 4:13), the bearing of faithful testimony to Christ (II Tim. 1:8).

The close association of *χάρισμα* with the laying on of hands which occurs only in the Pastorals calls for brief comment. The rite indicates a solemn consecration to special service. It was employed al-

¹ On the latter, *vid.*, Lock, *ICC*, xxf.; and Jeremias, *NTD*, IX, p. 32. The reference to "the women" (I Tim. 3:11) probably is to be understood as meaning the wives of deacons.

² I Tim. 1:18; 4:14. Cf. Clem. of Alex., *Quis Dives*, XLII, who records a tradition concerning St. John going about Asia ordaining "such as were marked out by the Spirit."

³ E.g. *διδασκικόν* (I Tim. 3:2; cf. Tit. 1:9); *προϊστάνας* (I Tim. 3:14f.).

ready in the Old Testament in connection with the consecration of the Levites¹ and particularly with the installation of Joshua as the successor of Moses.² Following the Biblical pattern of Joshua's investiture, rabbis throughout the New Testament era and down to at least A.D. 150 were ordained by the laying on of hands.³ There is some doubt whether the rite as practiced in Judaism was understood as involving the transmission not only of office but also of the Spirit.⁴ In the New Testament there are four passages in which the laying on of hands is associated with an act analogous to ordination.⁵ Although in none of these passages is it likely that the laying on of hands involved the transmission of the Spirit, some scholars would see in I Tim. 4:14 and II Tim. 1:6 a sacramental transference of Amtsgrade.⁶ As was observed, however, in the exegetical study of these two passages, it is possible to understand II Tim. 1:6 with the help of I Tim. 4:14 and to regard the laying on of hands not as the means by which a χάρισμα was bestowed upon Timothy but the

¹ Num. 8:10.

² Num. 27:18; Deut. 34:9.

³ Daube, op. cit., pp. 231f. For a full treatment, vid. E. Lohse, Die Ordination im Spätjudentum und im Neuen Testament, chaps. I, II.

⁴ Str.-B., II, pp. 654f., maintain that it did; but vid. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 211, 213; and Büchsel, op. cit., p. 127.

⁵ Acts 6:6; 13:3; I Tim. 4:14; II Tim. 1:6. Hort, The Christian Ecclesia, p. 216, suggests that the slight references to the rite in the New Testament would indicate that no "essential principle" was held to be involved in it.

⁶ Cf. Dibelius, HNT, on I Tim. 4:14: "Die Ordination hat den Rang eines sakramentalen Aktes bei welchem nicht nur die apostolische Tradition übergeben, sondern auch die Amtsgrade übermittle wird." Vid. also Campenhausen, op. cit., pp. 125f.; and Dix, "The Ministry in the Early Church," op. cit., p. 232.

occasion from which his active exercise of the gift dated.¹ If the Pastorals sustain a rather close relation to Paul both in time and in thought, it is not very likely that a sacramental concept of ordination is in view here. Furthermore, to assume that because no reference is made to a free and democratic experience of the *χαρίσματα*, such phenomena were either unknown to or discounted by the author of the Pastorals is a precarious inference. If *χάρisma* is closely associated with office in these epistles, it should not be forgotten that the author purportedly is addressing an individual who has been called to responsible leadership in the church and not an entire congregation as is the case in I Cor. 12 or Rom. 12. The personal destination and purpose of these letters must be taken into account in the demands which are made upon their contents.

Nothing of importance is added to the understanding of the relation of *χάρisma* to office by the remaining non-Pauline epistles. Peter who uses *χάρisma* in a way not unlike that of Paul also refers to elders who are responsible "to tend the flock of God" (I Pet. 5:1ff.). Surely they would not be expected to discharge their duties without appropriate *χαρίσματα*.² Leaders (*οἱ ἡγούμενοι*) are mentioned in Heb. 13:7, 17, 24 but whether these were spontaneous or official figures is difficult to determine.³ James directs the sick to call for the

¹ Supra pp. 43f.

² For the primitive character of the conception of the ministry in I Peter, vid. Wand, I Peter, WC, pp. 126f.

³ Cf. Harnack, The Mission and Expansion of Christianity, I, p. 334, n. 4, who observes that *ἡγούμενοι* did not become a technical expression in the primitive age and therefore it is impossible to tell whether bishops or teachers are in view. Büchsel, TWNT, II, pp. 909f., sees here a strong official sense. The term is so used in I Clem. 1:3; 21:6; cf. R. Knopf, HNT, on the former passage.

elders of the church that they may pray for and anoint them "in the name of the Lord" (5:14f.). The Apocalypse bears witness to the presence and vitality of prophets in the churches of Asia at the end of the first century. Something of the tension which developed in the church toward the close of the apostolic era between the spontaneous and the official leadership may be reflected in III Jno. 9f.¹ By the beginning of the second century a threefold official ministry had developed in Antioch, although this pattern probably was not yet universal in Syria² or in the churches of the west.³ To sketch the development of office and the relation of *κάρισμα* to it in the second century lies beyond the scope of this study.⁴ For the period of the early church, however, this relationship may be summarized in the words of Lauterburg who writes as follows:

Die durch Gottes Geist verliehene charismatische Befähigung blieb als--nicht einzige, aber nächste, nicht physisch notwendige, aber ideale Voraussetzung jeder amtlichen Funktion. Insofern griff nicht erst in einem spätem Zeitpunkt, sondern vom ersten Auftauchen förmlich übertragener Gemeindedienste an jene 'Verschmelzung des Enthusiastischen mit dem Administrativen' oder, wie wir auf unserm Standpunkte lieber und besser sagen, die Verbindung eines göttlichen und eines menschlich-rechtlichen Faktors Platz.⁵

¹ Cf. Dodd, *MNTC*, *ad. loco*.

² As may be inferred from the Didache.

³ At least it may be noted that Ignatius in his letter to the Roman church says nothing about its bishop. Similarly, Polycarp in writing to the church at Philippi speaks of their "elders and deacons" but does not mention their bishop.

⁴ Attention may be called to two excellent recent studies in this area: G. J. Roberts, "The Early Church, Institutional and Dynamic," (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, Hartford Seminary, 1955); J. C. Beker, "Prophecy and the Spirit in the Apostolic Fathers," (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, The University of Chicago, 1955). Cf. also the brief survey by Brandt, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-198.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 68.

CONCLUSION

The task envisioned at the beginning of this essay has now been completed. Certain general conclusions which have emerged from this study can be recorded briefly.

The word **χάρισμα** has a non-Biblical origin. Its slight Hellenistic usage, however, throws no significant light on its New Testament meaning. When the word was transplanted into a Christian context, it became a new creation.

Spirit-phenomena were not unknown either in Hebrew history or in the Greek world. But it was not until the Christian era and in the framework of the Christian community that manifestations of this sort were designated as **χαρίσματα**. The deliberate choice of this term to describe such phenomena is deeply significant, for it served to bring it under the regulative influence of the Christ-event. As **χαρίσματα**, these manifestations cannot be viewed as erratic expressions of a mysterious power; they were integrally related to God's supreme revelation of grace. As well as being given a new orientation, the term was also widened in its application. No longer was it limited to the unconventional and obviously inspired behaviour. Certain conduct which to the human eye was most ordinary was also included under its coverage and was thereby stamped with the imprint of grace.

Although the **χαρίσματα** were concretions of grace, their distinguishing characteristic is not to be seen in their evidential value as attesting either the possession of the Spirit or some particular endowment of grace. Their uniqueness consisted rather in the fact that they were service abilities granted and inspired by the Spirit for the upbuilding

of the Christian community. As such, they were far from being peripheral elements in the life of the early church. They were rooted theologically and functionally in the very nature of the church. The early Christians did not regard themselves as merely another religious society in the Graeco-Roman world. They were the eschatological community of the Messiah. They sustained a much more intimate relation to their Master than was to be found in any other contemporary religious cult. By His resurrection, the historical Jesus had become the spiritual Christ who henceforth indwelt His community. The Spirit with which He had been baptized had now been poured out upon His followers binding them to Him and to each other in a unique pneumatic fellowship. He was not only the Lord of the church, but also the source of its daily life and sustenance. The *χαρίσματα*, therefore, were the means by which Christ continued to minister to the needs of His community in history (cf. Eph. 4:7-16).

A rich diversity of gifts answering to a great variety of needs was found in the early church. Essentially, however, the gifts were of two general types: gifts of the Word and gifts of deed. Because the church was not an autonomous society but the community of the crucified and living Lord, it needed to hear His word. Just as the church had been constituted by the word of the Gospel, so it daily continued to be nourished and sustained by the same means. But the church as a historical community also had material and other practical needs. These were supplied by correspondingly appropriate gifts of practical service. From the very beginning, the various charismatic endowments of the Word and of deed were intimately related to the pattern of the church's ministry as it emerged and subsequently developed in the apostolic era.

It is impossible to discover any standardized pattern in the gifts which characterized the various Christian communities in the first century. Fluidity, spontaneity, variety, and individuality are features prominently to the fore in the records. This, of course, is to be expected in view of the nature of the phenomena. But beneath the observable diversity, there is a basic unity which binds all into a living whole. All of the gifts flowed from a common source and were designed for a common end. Paul put it tersely: "Now there are varieties of gifts, but the same Spirit To each is given the manifestation of the Spirit for the common good" (1 Cor. 12:4, 7).

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